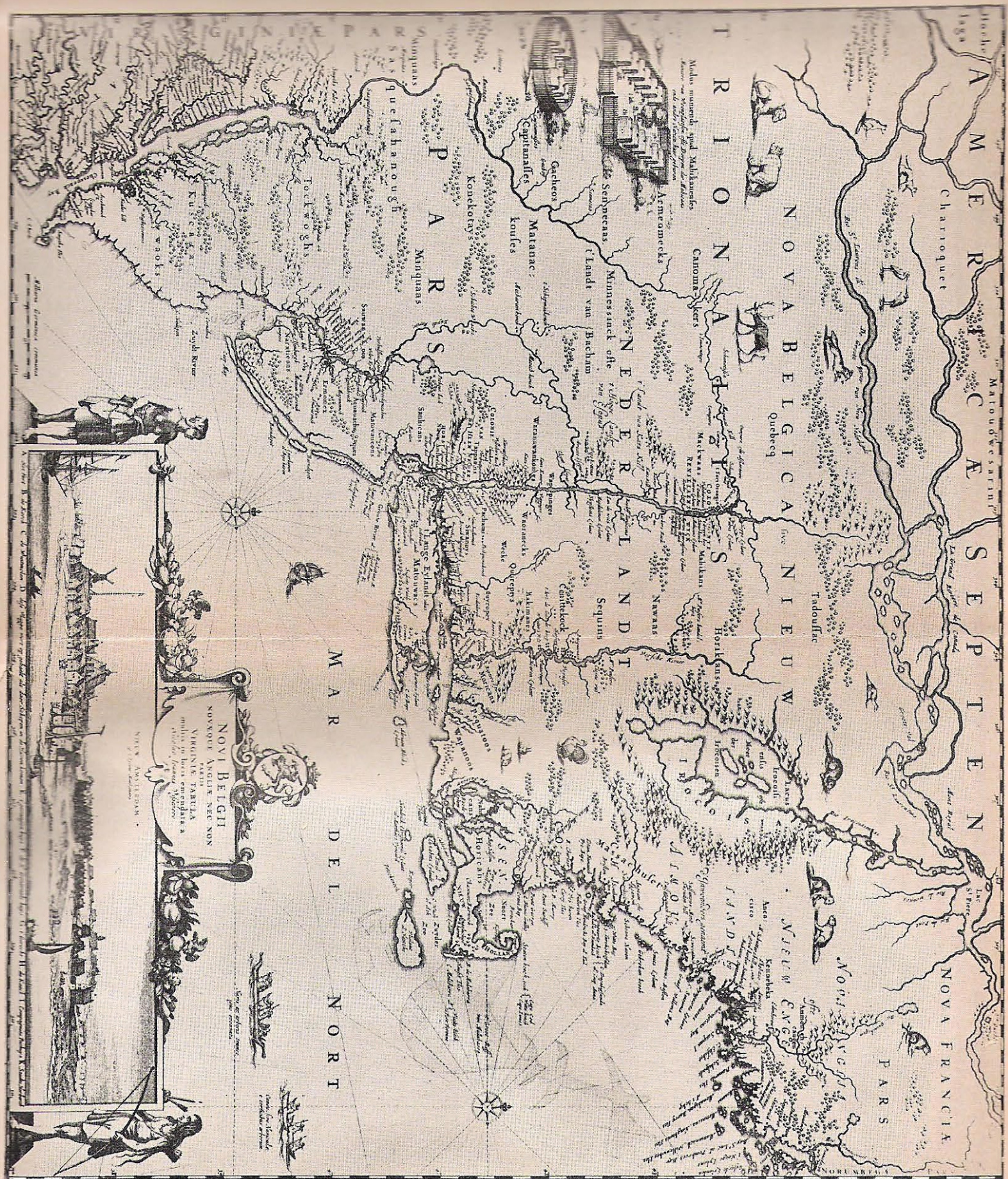


DUTCH EMIGRATION
TO NORTH AMERICA
1624-1860

A SHORT HISTORY

by

BERTUS HARRY WABEKE



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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Bertus Harry Wabeke was born of Dutch parents on November 15, 1914, at Pretoria, Transvaal, Union of South Africa. At the age of three he came to the United States and was naturalized here in 1922. In the next year Mr. Wabeke went to the Netherlands and remained there until April 1940 when, after passing his oral examination for a doctorate in history at the University of Leyden, he returned to this country. He has since taught in the Northfield Schools of Massachusetts, studied at the University of Michigan, and has lately been reference assistant and bibliographer for the Netherlands Studies Unit in the Library of Congress. Mr. Wabeke helped edit an article by Professor Jan Huizinga of Leyden University for the spring 1943 issue of the "Journal of the History of Ideas." On October 20, 1943, he was inducted into the Navy of the United States.

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To My Mother and Sister

in
Occupied Holland

PREFACE

A short account in English of the whole of Dutch emigration to America does not yet exist. Van der Zee's *The Hollanders of Iowa* is the closest approach to it, but as the title indicates, the emphasis of this book is upon modern times and on one specific region. This work, though excellent, is already thirty years old, and it gives little attention to the Dutch backgrounds of the emigration. In Dutch there is, of course, the monumental work by Dr. Van Hinte, but he too is mainly concerned with the emigration of the 19th and 20th centuries, and writes from the sociological rather than from the historical point of view.

It was originally intended that the present volume would fill this need, but for several reasons 1860 has been chosen as a good stopping place. With the Civil War, emigration to America came temporarily to a close; when the movement later resumed its course, its character had greatly changed. In spite of several efforts, emigration after 1865 never again led to the founding of colonies, both because of the reduced hazards of transportation and first settlement and because of the decline of religious incentives. Although larger numbers of people have emigrated in modern times, the story of their coming has lost much of its form, and consequently much of its human interest. Historical significance is never to be measured in numbers alone.

Because this is primarily a study of Dutch emigration, I have not gone into the familiar story of Dutch explorations in the 17th century, nor have I dwelt on the development of the Dutch communities. Nor has it been possible to speak in any detail concerning the cultural contributions of these emigrants. Why and how they came, and how they first adjusted themselves to the new life have been the themes of this investigation.



In this country I have worked at various times in the libraries of New Hampshire State University, Harvard College, Smith College, and the University of Michigan. I am grateful for the help which they have given. The John Crerar Library, the John Carter Brown Library, and the Netherlands Information Bureau in New York have also made available to me some rare material. Above all I am indebted to the Royal Library at The Hague, where the first notes for this study were taken, and to the Library of Congress, where it has been completed.

I am grateful to Professor A. J. Barnouw of Columbia University, at whose suggestion I began to enlarge my first brief paper on Dutch emigration; to Dr. H. N. Boon of the Netherlands Embassy, who has given many helpful suggestions; and to Dr. B. Landheer of the Netherlands Information Bureau in New York City, who has edited the publication. I am mindful, too, of the long shadows of influence which have stretched across the sea from my professors at Leyden University.

For my wife, who has faithfully watched over the preparation of the manuscript, I have a final word of appreciation.

Washington, D. C.
September 1943

B. H. WABEKE



Seal of New Netherland, from O'Callaghan's Documentary History

Dutch Emigration to British America

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I.

I. EMIGRATION UNDER THE FLAG

The history of emigration is primarily a chronicle of common people.

This is true of emigration in the 17th as well as in the 19th century, and of the Dutch as well as of any other nation. The majority of the emigrants to New Netherland, according to Van der Donck, "brought nothing to the country." And similarly, the greater number of those who in 1847 founded the Dutch colonies in Michigan are described in the government statistics as *mingegoeden*: people of small means.

The form of history, however, is not determined only by what we should like to know, but also, and even more at times, by what we are able to know about the past. Often what one most desires to discover is inaccessible for lack of materials. This difficulty is keenly felt when one writes of Dutch emigration in the 17th century. The sale for waste paper of part of the records of the old West India Company in 1821, and the fire in the State Capitol at Albany in 1911 have deprived us of some particularly valuable sources of information. Nevertheless, what remains would still suffice for a fairly adequate presentation of the subject, were it not for the official nature of most of this early material. We may be eager to learn what kind of people these emigrants were, why they left their country, what hopes they had for the future—but the records speak largely of governors, of patroons and promoters of colonization; and even when they mention the emigrants, they present the views of the officials rather than of the settlers.

It is easy, therefore, to underestimate the share of the common people of Holland in the building of New Nether-

land. In judging the character of these pioneers of Dutch settlement in the New World, it will be well to remember that when only one party can be heard, the verdict of the historian must necessarily remain tentative.

PART I. Conditions affecting emigration from Holland in the 17th century

It is a well-known fact that the Dutch lost New Netherland mainly because they neglected to people it. When in 1664 the English took over the province, after forty years of Dutch efforts at colonization, it numbered only 10,000 inhabitants. New England alone had at that time at least 30,000.

The first reason for this deficiency on the part of the Dutch is obvious and is stated clearly in a remonstrance of the West India Company of 1633, where it is said that "the peopling of such wild and undeared lands demands more inhabitants than our country can supply; not so much for want of population, with which our provinces swarm, as because all those who will labor in any way here, can easily obtain support, and therefore are disinclined to go far from home on an uncertainty."

After all, the early seventeenth century was Holland's Golden Age; by the turn of this century the independence of the seven northern provinces seemed well secured. They had banded themselves together in 1579 in a life and death struggle for the preservation of their civil liberties and for freedom of religion against the attempt of their Spanish rulers to destroy the Protestant faith and introduce an arbitrary system of government. The military genius of Prince Maurice of Orange had cleared the territory of Spanish troops. Even during this war, industry and trade were rapidly expanding; and from all sides the persecuted of other nations flocked to the United Provinces, bringing

with them valuable skills and—as the majority hailed from Belgium and France—a lively southern imagination that stimulated enterprise and scientific research. The liberal welcome which the towns accorded these immigrants proves that in general there was no problem of unemployment.

The condition of the peasant population, too, was more favorable on the whole than in other parts of Europe. The independent spirit of the Dutch farmer is exhibited in the story told by the son of the French ambassador du Maurier concerning Frederic of the Palz, King of Bohemia, who had sought refuge in the Netherlands after having lost the Palatinate. One day, according to young du Maurier, who observed the incident from his father's mansion near The Hague, the king, while hunting a hare with his dogs and horses, entered a small field which had recently been planted with turnips. The farmer, named Floris, in his Sunday best of black Spanish cloth and a vest of Florentine frieze with big buttons of solid silver, ran out followed by a burly servant, each man holding a large iron pitchfork, and without further salutation shouted out reproachfully: "Koning van Bohemen, Koning van Bohemen, why do you come and destroy my field of turnips, which it has taken me so much trouble to plant?" This caused the king to withdraw immediately, apologizing to him, and saying that his dogs in pursuing the hare had taken him there unintentionally.

Of course not everywhere were conditions for the farmers so favorable as in the province of Holland. It is significant that a considerable number of what few agricultural colonists there were in New Netherland came from the eastern provinces, from Utrecht and Gelderland, regions which were less urbanized and where a feudal nobility still had a firm hold on the country and its people. But even so, if the burdens became too heavy here for the peasant, it was not absolutely necessary for him to go all the way to New Netherland in order to find relief; there were many opportunities nearer home for anyone who had the courage to cut the roots that held him to the ancestral soil. In Holland and Zeeland, for instance, enterprising capitalists were in-

vesting huge sums in the drainage of swamps, 180,000 acres of which had been reclaimed during the fifty years before 1640. Furthermore, Dutch farmers, famous for their skill in improving marshy lands, were much in demand in neighboring countries. Many of them in the 17th century settled south of the present German-Danish border in Holstein, where Friedrichstadt was a purely Dutch colony, in Denmark, Sweden, England (the Fen District), and on the lower Seine, and at Arles, Gilles, and La Rochelle in France.

In the absence of religious persecution in the Dutch Republic there was no strong spiritual incentive to emigrate. The victims of the Arminian controversy of 1619 belonged mostly to an intellectual elite which preferred an exile at the courts of France or Sweden to a trek into the wilderness.

It should also be remembered in this connection that what might be called the "American Mirage" had not yet begun to allure the European mind as it was to do in the 19th century. It is true that an active promotional campaign was carried out in the fifties by men like David Pietersen de Vries and Adriaen van der Donck. But though their glowing accounts of the natural resources of New Netherland and its possibilities as a farming country resulted in an increased migration, for the general public their propaganda must have faded in the bright light of stories which were being told about the fabulous riches of the Indies and other tropical possessions. It remained for William Penn and the American Revolution to build up the reputation of America as the paradise of social justice and political liberty.

After all that has been said, it need not surprise us therefore to find few instances of spontaneous, unsolicited emigration to New Netherland. Even during the last years of Dutch rule, when emigration was at its height, the patroons of Rensselaerswyck paid from a dollar to a dollar and a quarter to anyone who hunted up an indentured servant for their colony. In fact, only one authentic case of spontaneous group-migration has come to the author's attention: that of Pieter Cornelisz. Plockhoy and his fellow Mennonites, of whom we shall have occasion to speak later.

The assumption that the fifty-odd colonists from the province of Utrecht who on November 2, 1640, arrived on the Delaware in the ship *Freedenburgh* had themselves sought to be transported to America—this assumption must rest on a misreading of the only source of information (a letter by Samuel Blommaert to Axel Oxenstierna of January 28, 1640). In all probability the initiative for this enterprize lay with the promoters Hendrik Hooghkamer and Godard van Reede, lord of Nederhorst, rather than with the emigrants.

The limited interest in emigration among the Dutch is also reflected in the cosmopolitan character of the colonial population. Father Jogues attested in 1643 that eighteen different languages were spoken at New Amsterdam. Among the first consignment of settlers which the city of Amsterdam sent to its new colony on the Delaware in 1656-7 were sixty to seventy peasants from Gulik and the surrounding country in western Germany, who had been chosen mainly for their military prowess. Later thirty-two Finns were sent over. And in the early days at Rensselaerswyck its population included a large proportion of Norwegians, Danes, Germans, and other nationals.

As late as 1661 Governor Stuyvesant complained to the directors at Amsterdam that in contrast with the English and French colonies, New Netherland was "only gradually and slowly peopled by the scrapings of all sorts of nationalities (few excepted), who consequently have the least interest in the welfare and maintenance of the commonwealth." To refer to the foreigners as "scrapings," however, is to do them injustice, for a great many were hired because of special skills and abilities. The presence of so many Scandinavians, or "Norsemens," among the population of New Netherland is explained, for instance, by their great reputation as lumbermen.

It may well be that the moral standards of this early group were not always of the highest, for, as the patroon of Rensselaerswyck remarked concerning his own flock: "The best people seldom move so far overseas." There were of course exceptions. Even the critical Isaac de Rasière

could not find fault with Govert Pietersen Buyck, one of the Company's farmservants, "a quiet, God-fearing, diligent man." All too frequently, however, the ministers complain of their parishioners as a hard-drinking, rowdy lot, who openly declared that they had not come to work, for if that had been their purpose, they might as well have stayed at home.

Evidently the exaggerated reports of the natural wealth of the new country in letters from earlier settlers had deceived many into thinking, as Ds. Baudartius put it, that in America they would live "in luxury and ease, whilst here on the contrary they must work in the sweat of their brow."

Some had even come over for the sake of the voyage only. All such elements, says Ds. Michaëlius, in due time were shipped back to the home country as useless ballast. There always was a considerable repatriation, also, of the better emigrants, for many Netherlanders came out merely as officers or servants of the West India Company, or as agents for a patroon, and returned when their time was up.

Nevertheless there were some, even among the highest officials, who stayed. Nicasius de Sille, newly-appointed councillor, after having been in America only six months, wrote to a friend in 1654: "This country suits me exceedingly well. I shall not try to leave it as long as I live." And it is well known how Peter Stuyvesant, the last governor of New Netherland, after surrendering the province to the English decided to make his home there in spite of the change of sovereignty.

Occasionally, also, the opportunities for rapid advancement in a new country would attract ambitious, well-educated young men like Arent van Curler and Adriaen van der Donck, both of whom, after having served their administrative apprenticeship in the colony of Rensselaerswyck, stayed on and became prominent in the public life of New Netherland.

Others, again, rose from the ranks. Machiel Jansen, who came out as a farmservant for Van Rensselaer in 1638, made his fortune in a few years in the fur trade, removed to Manhattan, purchased a farm at Pavonia for 8000 guilders, and

served with Van der Donck on the Board of Nine Men in 1649.

The fact that the worst elements among the population of the colony were frequently deported to the home country is significant. The West India Company—and for that matter the patroons—may not always have taken their obligation to people the country very seriously, but they did expect to be served well by those whom they sent over. Consequently New Netherland never became just a dumping ground for undesirables, although at least once it was proposed that the States General supply the patroons with vagabonds, who upon returning home with a certificate of satisfactory service from their masters would be restored to their freedom.

On the whole it would seem that as to the quality of its settlers New Netherland did not compare unfavorably with its English neighbors to the south. The rough and tumble character of the early population may at times have alarmed the ministers, but it did not stand in the way of a sound development of the colony.

Far more dangerous, indeed, was the fact that so few of the emigrants were suited for a colonization of the agricultural type. To plod along for years in an attempt to improve a patch of wilderness did not appeal to many, as long as such ambition could be granted just as easily and with less risk in the home country. Scarcely three good farmers were to be found among the 507 settlers with which the city of Amsterdam hoped to establish her colony. Of the first consignment of 168 persons sent over in December 1665 in the quartet of ships which included the ill-fated *Prins Maurits*, only thirty-five were colonists, mostly "tradespeople, who did not learn their trade very well and ran away from their masters too early in consequence of their own viciousness," according to Governor Alrichs; the rest were soldiers, civil servants, and women and children. Later, also, some children from the Amsterdam Almshouse were brought over as indentured servants. They served from two to four years, earning forty to eighty guilders during this period, and seem to have been much in demand.

It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the majority

of the emigrants became fur traders and liquor dealers rather than farmers. On May 27, 1647, the Board of Accounts of the West India Company suggested to the States General that more negroes be employed in the colony, "for the agricultural laborers, who are conveyed thither at great expense to the colonists, sooner or later apply themselves to trade and neglect agriculture altogether." It is significant that the population of New Netherland did not experience any special impetus until the year 1639, when the fur trade with the Indians, which had previously been reserved to the Company, was thrown open to everybody. And the luxuriant growth of saloons and public houses at New Amsterdam, against which Governor Stuyvesant was forever contending, is sufficient proof of the flourishing state of the traffic in liquor.

This leads us to consider the second reason for the failure of the Dutch as a colonizing nation in New Netherland: the fact that the chief agents of colonization were all interested in trade rather more than in the founding of settlements. Colonization was a slow process, the benefits of which the original promoters might not live to enjoy. The settlement of New Netherland had by 1644, in fact, lost the West India Company 550,000 guilders. Trade and privateering, on the other hand, held out hopes of immediate gain. The West India Company, it will be remembered, was organized chiefly as an instrument of war. Capture of a Spanish silver fleet was the eternal dream of directors, employees, and shareholders alike—a dream realized in 1628, when the Dutch Admiral, Piet Hein, seized 15,000,000 guilders worth of Spanish gold, silver, indigo, sugar, and logwood off the northern coast of Cuba.

The very organization of the West India Company necessitated swift returns, for no attempt was made to create a capital reserve; all profits were immediately distributed among the shareholders. Since the capture of a silver fleet was no annual occurrence, trade was a welcome substitute for piracy. The most coveted commercial prizes in those days were tropical products; the interest of the Company therefore centered in the Caribbean and Brazil.

In New Netherland only the fur trade promised quick profits; its other products were almost identical with those of the mother country. The cultivation of tobacco, which the Dutch learned from an English runaway, Rutger Morits, proceeded slowly and never assumed an importance for the economic life of the colony commensurate to that which it had in Virginia or Maryland. What tobacco was to these southern English colonies, or the sacred codfish to Massachusetts Bay, that the beaver was to New Netherland, a fact symbolized both in the coat of arms and in the seal of the province.

Unfortunately, as the history of French Canada has proved, the fur trade is not conducive to settlement. It was not long before this became apparent also in New Netherland. In order to promote agriculture beyond the point of guaranteeing a regular supply of provisions for the Company's officials and ships and for the newly arriving immigrants, it was necessary to provide the farmers of New Netherland with a market abroad, preferably in tropical or subtropical regions, whose economy would be complementary to that of the northern colony. This in turn meant encouraging the colonists to carry on an independent trade in direct competition with the West India Company, which ultimately must lead to the destruction of its monopoly. And as monopoly was of its very essence, the Company for a long time obstructed rather than promoted the settlement of its colony beyond the very first stages.

Neither was this spirit of monopoly and privilege confined to the West India Company. The patroon of Rensselaerwyck in advising his steward in 1638 of the possibility that the Company might throw open the beaver trade added the warning: "I do not intend nor shall I allow any but those of the Company to whom I cannot forbid it, to trade in furs in my colony; to private individuals I do not wish to permit it." And what was the famous "burgher-right" of New Amsterdam but a monopoly directed against "outsiders," who trade and make profit without bearing any of the burdens of citizenship.

In its consequences the monopolistic temper of the age

and the overemphasis upon the fur trade seriously hampered the growth of the colony. To the former can be traced the endless disputes both at home and in the province between Company and patroons, and patroons and settlers—disputes which fill the annals of New Netherland. To the latter must be ascribed in a way the failure of the Dutch to settle in towns, which in turn rendered the province defenseless against the Indians. For the colonists, according to a report by the Board of Accounts in 1644, "each with a view to advance his own interest, separated themselves from one another, and settled far in the interior of the Country, the better to trade with the Indians, whom they sought to allure to their houses by excessive familiarity."

In the absence of a strong central government in the homeland which might have ended the evils of private and corporate monopoly at an early date (as in Virginia, where the English Crown took over when it became apparent that the chartered company failed to people the country), it was only toward the end of the Dutch rule that the combined pressure from the States General and the colonists themselves brought about the reforms that led to an increased immigration. But this change occurred too late to save the colony from being absorbed by the English.

PART 2. *The settlement of New Netherland 1624-1664*

Like all powers of the day Holland at first fastened her eyes on the Far East rather than on the Americas. But because the southern route to the Orient was blocked by Spain and Portugal, who had originally discovered it, the Dutch and English were intent on finding a northern passage. Thus in quest of distant tropical riches the Dutch first came to North America. Hudson's historic voyage in the Half Moon was made in 1609 while he was in the service of the Dutch East India Company. Other explorers followed and soon realized the profitable possibilities of fur trade with the natives.

By 1614 a number of individual merchants joined to petition the States General for an exclusive trading charter in those regions which Holland had claimed as her own since Hudson's voyage, and which were proudly named New Netherland. The States General granted the charter to these merchants, who now called themselves the New Netherland Company, and who were permitted to make four voyages in the three years after January 1, 1615. They established a trading post near what is now Albany.

In 1618 the exclusive charter was not renewed, and trade was presumably open to all. But in 1621 the twelve years' truce with Spain expired. The resumption of hostilities made it necessary for Holland to organize her commerce for war. Thus the West India Company came into being, with exclusive trading rights in the western hemisphere. Then for the first time was actual Dutch settlement in the new world contemplated.

But just how far this corporation should sponsor colonizing ventures was a mooted question among the directors. The matter came up almost immediately after the Company had completed its internal organization in 1623. Over against those "who had no other aim than to send their ships from here to trade in the aforesaid places," the commissioners for New Netherland, headed by Kiliaen van Rensselaer, succeeded in persuading the Assembly of XIX to send a large number of farmers, animals, horses, cows, sheep and other necessaries, in order thus to relieve the Company of the heavy expense of transporting all sorts of provisions needed by the people in that land." The underlying idea then was that the farmers of New Netherland should provision the Company's officials and ships engaged in the fur trade and the trade with the West Indies, and should ultimately even export their products to other regions within the limits of the Company's charter—such as Cape Verde, Guinea, and Brazil. Thus agriculture would implement trade, which of course remained the Company's chief concern; in addition, colonization would guarantee the effective possession of the country.

Accordingly three of the commissioners for New Nether-

land, Godyn, Burg, and De Laet (all of whom in after years became financially interested in the development of Rensselaerswyck) drew up a set of conditions for prospective settlers, which were approved by the Assembly of XIX on March 28, 1624. Two days later this "Provisional Order" was read to the first emigrants—thirty families, mostly Walloons—on the eve of their embarkation in the *Nieu Nederland*.

In the next year these conditions were amplified in the instructions for the first governor, Willem Verhulst, and the engineer, Cryn Fredericksz. The colonists, all Protestants, were to stay for six years in the places assigned by the Company; they should assist in the construction of fortifications and the erection of public buildings at wages of eight stivers a day; for the time being they were to raise specified crops. Until further order the settlers were free to trade within the province, provided they sold only to the Company and charged not more than the Indians received. But the Company reserved to itself all export trade and the right of mining. Manufacturing, especially weaving, except for domestic consumption, was forbidden—this in order to protect the Leyden textile industry! On the other hand, the Company granted the settlers free transportation and free land—as much as they could till—, and promised to supply all the necessities of life at a reasonable price over a period of two years. Finally, the colonists were sworn to secrecy concerning "all transactions and affairs of the Company," even after they would have left its service.

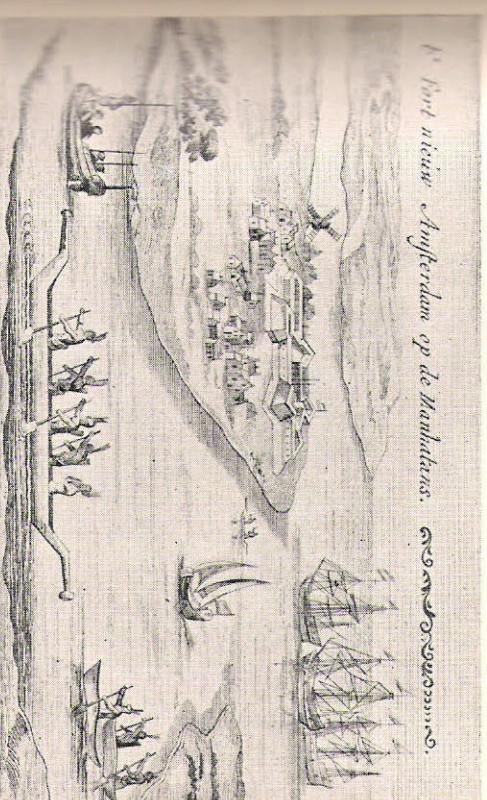
If one of the women, Catelina Trico, remembered correctly in her old age, the main settlement in 1624 was made at Fort Orange with eighteen families. Of the remaining number, two families and eight men were sent to Fort Nassau on the Delaware; two families and six men went to the mouth of the Connecticut; and eight men were left on Manhattan island.

In their letters to friends and acquaintances back home the first settlers spoke with great enthusiasm of the country and its natural wealth.

Here we found beautiful rivers, bubbling fountains flowing

down into the valleys; basins of running waters in the flatlands, agreeable fruits in the woods, such as strawberries, pigeon berries, walnuts, and wild grapes. The woods abound with acorns for feeding hogs, and with venison. There is considerable fish in the rivers; good tillage land; here is, especially, free coming and going, without fear of the naked natives of the country. Had we cows, hogs, and other cattle fit for food (which we daily expect in the first ships) we would not wish to return to Holland, for whatever we desire in the paradise of Holland, is here to be found. If you will come hither with your family, you will not regret it.

Encouraged by such reports, in the next year forty-five new immigrants, among them six families, came over along with three shiploads of live stock. Special care had been taken in conveying the farm animals. The cows and horses were distributed over two ships of 140 lasts. Each animal



New Amsterdam in 1626 from Asher's Bibliographical Essay

had its own stall with a floor of three feet of sand, and a special attendant who was to receive a premium if he delivered his charge alive. Each ship carried 300 tuns of fresh water, which was pumped up for the cattle. A third ship was added so that should the voyage continue longer than the customary six weeks, nothing would be wanting. Two months later a fly-boat was equipped, carrying sheep, hogs, wagons, ploughs, and all other implements of husbandry, says Wassemater, from whose *Historisch Verhael* the above descrip-

tion has been taken. The cattle were first landed on Nu Island (now Governor's Island); after a few days, however, they were transported to Manhattan and subsequently moved "upwards" to some good pasture land.

Exactly when it was decided to make Manhattan rather than Fort Orange the seat of government is as yet not clear. If, as Dr. Palsius believes, by "upwards" Wassenauer meant "to Fort Orange," then 1626, rather than the more generally accepted 1625, may have to be considered as the date of the founding of New York.

Certainly by September 1626 a fort had been staked out on Manhattan by Master Cryn Fredericksz., engineer and surveyor; and soon afterwards the colonists at Fort Orange—eight families in all—were brought down to New Amsterdam. Until the founding of Rensselaerswyck, Fort Orange then remained a mere trading post. On the Delaware, Fort Nassau was temporarily abandoned, and trading there was carried on only in yachts in order to avoid expense. The same thing must have been done also on the Connecticut until Van Twiller built the first Dutch fort there in 1633. Before the end of 1626 there were thirty "houses" at New Amsterdam, all of which were situated outside the fort, and the colony counted two hundred souls. In 1630 the secretary of the province, Cornelius van Tienhoven, described thus the manner in which these first temporary dwellings were constructed:

Those in New Netherland and especially in New England will have no means to build regular farmhouses at first, dig a square pit in the ground, cellar fashion, six or seven feet deep, as long and as broad as they think proper, case the earth inside with wood all round the wall, and line the wood with the bark of trees or something else to prevent the caving in of the earth floor this cellar with plank and wainscot it overhead for a ceiling, raise a roof of spars clearup and cover the spars with bark or green sods, so that they can live dry and warm in the houses with their entire families for two, three and four years it being understood that partitions are run through those cellars which are adapted to the size of the family.

It is interesting to note that the Dutch group which founded Pella, Iowa, in 1847 still employed almost the very same method.

By August 1628, however, the colonists were already beginning to build new houses instead of the "hovels and cells" in which up until then they had "nestled rather than lived," to quote Dr. Jonas Michaëlius, New Netherland's first ordained minister, who had arrived at Fort Amsterdam on April 7 of that year. The population by this time had increased to 270 men, women, and children, and consisted of farmers and their servants, artisans, sailors, soldiers, and a few administrative officials.

As everybody, with the possible exception of a few persons who had resided in the country since pre-charter days, was in one way or another bound by contract to the West India Company, the status of the individual in this early colonial society depended largely upon the nature of his services to the Company. The immigrants who had come over under the terms of the Provisional Order of 1624 were generally designated as "free colonists." Their freedom, however, was only relative. For, as we have seen, they bound themselves in return for free transportation to stay in the colony for six successive years, and to raise specified crops in places assigned by the Company. Nevertheless, they were better off than the indentured servants, or those "in the special service of the Company" who worked for weekly or monthly wages. For unlike the former, they were not bound out to a master; neither could the Company's officials draft their labor, as in the case of the sailors, except with their own consent and at a specified, daily remuneration.

The free colonists made their living by selling their daily products to "those of the people who receive their wages for work every week," says Wassenauer. If they had any surplus grain, hay, flax, or hemp, it was bought by the Company and credited to their accounts. In addition, the colonists engaged actively in the fur trade, and, in spite of the Company's control of the market, frequently succeeded in making a good profit—as appears from the complaints of Isaac de Rasière in 1626. If the colonists had no means to purchase stock, the Company lent them for a number of years as many cows as it had to spare, the risks as well as the increase being shared in common by the two parties.

All freemen were owners of the houses they lived in, and of the fields they tilled, with the restriction, however, that they could sell these only to one of the other free colonists. At first householders on Manhattan seem to have held their lots or farms from the Company by oral agreement, or simply by virtue of the conditions of 1624. But on June 24, 1638 Governor Kieft, at the request of the freemen themselves, promised to issue formal land patents for plantations in actual cultivation on condition of the payment of one-tenth of all crops as an annual quitrent, after the plantation had been in occupation for ten years; for a house and lot, from that time on, a couple of capons per year were due.

The status of free colonist was by no means reserved exclusively for the first emigrants and their descendants. Whosoever married was immediately to be discharged from the Company's service and would from that moment be "regarded as a free man and colonist"; likewise the indentured servants who had faithfully served out their bounden time would, if they so desired, be permitted to stay in the colony on the same terms as the freemen of 1624.

The Company in the early days did not rely exclusively on the free farmers for its supply of provisions, but engaged in farming on its own account as well; in addition it provided its four chief officials with farms of their own. The Company's farms were worked by indentured husbandmen under the supervision of master farmers, five of whom came over in 1625 in the ships which carried the first cattle and farming implements. These five were Walich Jacobsz., Jacob Lourensz., Matheus de Reus, Wolfaert Gerritsz., and Jan Ides. Unfortunately their contracts have not been preserved as well as their names. From various other sources, however, it appears that they and their families were conveyed overseas free of charge and were given for the time of six years a farm or *bouwerie* which was partly cleared and fit for the plough. The Company furnished a house, barn, farming implements and tools, together with four horse and four cows "to be selected from the best," and sheep and pigs in proportion. That no reason for jealousy might exist between them, everything was distributed by lot. For their

supervision the head farmers received one-tenth of the cattle and the produce. Likewise the commander, the *commiss*, the pastor, and the *sub-commiss* were entitled to the tenths of their farms, on which they employed a foreman assisted by some farm-servants, all at the expense of the Company. In later years these conditions apparently underwent some change. According to Van Rensselaer, the Company in its new contracts with the master farmers on January 8, 1650, sold to them four horses, four cows, with their foals and calves, besides two heifers, six sheep, six hogs, wagons, plows and implements, for 600 guilders, to be paid in six installments; in addition the farmer was entitled to one-half the increase of the cattle. The farm with its buildings, on the other hand, was leased to him for six years, on condition of the payment of the sixth sheaf and the delivery of one firkin of butter and the grain to the Company.

As Van Rensselaer wrote with copies of the contracts before him, he probably deserves more credit than Secretary Van Tienhoven, who assures us that the farmer was held to return the number of cattle he had originally received, the entire increase, however, remaining with him.

By the time of Van Tienhoven's report in 1650 the system of Company-owned farms had broken down completely. When Governor Kieft arrived in the colony on March 28, 1658, the five *bouweries* were vacant and had fallen into decay; all the Company's cattle were in the hands of others. For this the patroons Pauw and Van Rensselaer were largely responsible, for they had systematically bought up the cattle of the master farmers in order to supply their own colonies. During Kieft's regime all but two of the eight farms were sold; of the remaining two, Governor Stuyvesant bought the *bouwerie* no. 1 in 1651, and by the end of the following year farming by the Company was definitely a thing of the past.

Even as early as 1628 it was clear that in the way of agricultural colonization little more was to be expected from the Company. "Having about that time come into possession of Pieter Heyn's booty," says David Pietersz. de Vries, the directors "bestowed not a thought upon their best trad-

ingpost, at Fort Orange, whether people were making farms there or not . . . [but] would rather see booty arrive than speak of their colonies."

Where the Company failed, private enterprise took over. The very same commissioners for New Netherland who had been responsible for the earlier project of colonization on Manhattan now decided to promote their favorite scheme at their own risk and expense. Consequently they obtained a charter of Freedoms and Exemptions from the Company in 1629, which provided for the grant of "patroonships" to such participants of the Company as would found settlements of fifty persons within four years after registering their intentions. The grants were to extend either four leagues along one side of a navigable river or two leagues along each side of such a waterway, and as far inland as the patroon saw fit, with the understanding that the Company retained Manhattan island for itself, which was to be the staple port for all exports from the colony. The lands were granted in full ownership; in addition, the patroons were to have high, middle, and low jurisdiction, and the right of fishing, fowling, and grinding within their territories; a perpetual fief of inheritance from the Company. The charter also conferred extensive trading privileges; but the fur trade the Company reserved to itself except in regions where it did not maintain an agent.

From this description it should already be clear that what Kiliaen van Rensselaer and his associates had in mind was not merely the development of some private estates on the Company's domains: they evidently aimed at supplanting the Company as the chief agent of colonization in the widest sense of the word, including every variety of economic and administrative activity, leaving it only its monopoly of shipping and the collection of duties as an independent source of income, while recognizing its nominal overlordship under the States General.

Unfortunately for them the opposing party within the directorate, though not inclined to spend any more money on the settlement of the colony, was by no means willing to endanger the profits of the fur trade. The patroons, on

the other hand, were sufficiently clearheaded businessmen to understand that the returns from agricultural colonization, though perhaps more substantial in the end, would at first be slow in coming in. In order to meet the initial heavy expenses of settlement, they were therefore quite anxious to obtain at least a share in the fur business. Consequently for ten years the fur trade became the chief bone of contention between the patroons and the Company.

It was of course charged by Van Rensselaer's enemies—and the charge has been repeated recently by Professor Nisenson,—that the whole project for establishing patroonships was nothing but a scheme for tricking the Company out of its profits in skins. In view, however, of Van Rensselaer's persistent efforts over a period of thirteen years to establish an agricultural colony at great expense and small profit to himself, there seems little reason to doubt his sincerity when he wrote to the steward of Rensselaerswyck on May 10, 1638: "I am firmly resolved not knowingly and intentionally to injure the West India Company in their rights in the least, as my principal object is directed toward farming and things connected therewith." But on the subject of how much an incidental traffic in furs would injure the Company there was bound to be, of course, a difference of opinion.

As might have been expected, the originators of the plan for the colonization of New Netherland by means of individual patroonships rushed to register. Only three, however, made actual attempts at settlement in their own names. Since they were all financially interested in each other's colonies, these patroons constituted as it were a company within the West India Company. The choice of a location for the three patroonships followed the pattern already established by the Company, which had divided the province into three sections centering around the mouth of the Delaware, Manhattan Island, and the upper Hudson.

Twenty-eight emigrants sent out by Samuel Goddyn in the *Walvis* arrived on the Delaware in the spring of 1631 and founded a colony, Swanendael, at what was thereafter known as the Whorekill because of the somewhat extraor-

dinary hospitality of the Indians, if we are to accept the testimony of both the *Kort Verhael* and Sheriff Gerrit van Swearingen. Within a year, though, the Indians destroyed the settlement, and in 1634 the associates sold their right to the Company having lost 40,000 guilders in the venture. In the same year Pavonia, very strategically situated on the mainland "opposite Fort Amsterdam, where the Indians are compelled to cross to the fort with their beavers," say David Pietersz. de Vries, was also bought back by the Company for 26,000 guilders from the patroon, Michiel Pauw. By 1635 Rensselaerswyck, straddling the Hudson at Albany, alone remained of the five or six patroonships originally registered for in Amsterdam.

It must have been clear that without the furs to make up for the initial losses, the risks of colonization were too great. Not until the Company's monopoly of the fur trade had been discontinued in 1639 was there a revival of interest in patroonships among Dutch capitalists. Even those who could not believe that there had really been a change of heart in the West India Company preferred to achieve their ends through the New Sweden Company by gun in 1637 with Dutch and Swedish capital.

This accounts for the migration in 1640 of the fifty persons from Utrecht already mentioned. They were sponsored by Hendrik Hooghkaner, a chief participant in the West India Company, and his associates, patroons of a colony to be planted under the authority of the Swedish Crown four or five miles above Fort Christina on the west side of the South River, as the Delaware was then called. Fort Christina itself had been founded in 1638 with a group of twenty-two Dutch settlers who were brought over by Peter Minuit, formerly a governor of New Netherland, but now one of the leading members of the New Sweden Company.

Shortly after the opening of the fur trade the West India Company, under pressure from the States General, issued a revised charter of Freedoms and Exemptions. To qualify as a patroon under this charter of 1640, it was no longer necessary to be a member of the West India Com-

pany. The patroonships were greatly reduced in size, extending only one league along one waterway, and two leagues inland; the period within which the patroon was to settle the required minimum of fifty persons over fifteen years of age was shortened from four to three years.

Once more patroonships were developed. Already in the previous year David Pietersz. de Vries had started a tobacco plantation on Staten Island, which he subsequently leased out for six years to one Thomas Smith, mainly because his partner Frederick de Vries, a manager of the West India Company, failed to supply him with people. Renewing his efforts in 1640, De Vries chose a site on the western bank of the Hudson, a league and a half or two leagues above Fort Amsterdam. De Vries himself took up his residence at "Vriesendael," as the colony was named, half on account of the pleasure of it, as it was all situated along the river."

South of Vriesendael, in the valley of the Hackensack River, a beginning of settlement was made by Meyndert Meyndertsen van Keren and Godert van Reede, the aforementioned lord of Nederhorst. The latter also bought half of Staten Island from Cornelis Melyn, but apparently abandoned his plan for establishing a colony there in favor of the partnership in Van Keren's colony. All these settlements were destroyed in the course of the Indian war of 1643.

After the Company had bought back Pavonia, Pauw's settlers continued to reside in this region as private individuals. Among them was Cornelis van Vorst, formerly Pauw's agent. Around these people three settlements sprang up in the course of time: Paulus Hook, Communipaw, and Houtbus, which suffered heavily in the wars of 1643 and 1655. In 1658 it was apparently the intention to make Communipaw the local center; but two years later still a new settlement was founded and incorporated in 1661 as the town of Bergen in New Jersey.

The difficulties that beset a patroon who lacked the means and influence, as well as the tact and the good fortune of a Van Rensselaer, are well exemplified by the career

on Staten Island of Cornelis Melyn—with DeVries almost the only patroon to become himself an emigrant.

Having obtained a grant from the Company for the entire island, with the exception of the plantation owned by DeVries, Melyn sailed with his people, cattle, goods, and all implements necessary for agriculture in the summer of 1640. But on August 13 he had the misfortune of running into a Dunkirk privateer. His ship was taken and the expedition was delayed until the following year, when Melyn arrived in New Netherland in the *Eykenboom* with forty-one colonists. They immediately began to build houses, to plough the land, and to do everything toward the establishment of a good colony, sparing neither money nor effort. In the subsequent war with the Indians, however, all the houses and farms were burned, the cattle and some of the people were killed, and Melyn with his wife and children were forced to seek refuge on Manhattan, where they lived until 1647.

As president of the Board of Eight Men in 1643, Melyn had already evinced hostility to Governor Kieft whom he believed responsible for the Indian war and the consequent loss of his colony on Staten Island. No sooner had the latter laid down his office than Melyn brought their dispute to climax by demanding a formal investigation of the war guilt of the chief officials of Kieft's administration. This time, however, Melyn overplayed his hand, for Kieft's successor, Governor Stuyvesant, considered such a demand a threat to all constituted authority and had him and his associate Kuyter convicted of sedition.

Both men were sent home as prisoners in the *Princess*, which also carried director Kieft and the 400,000 guilders which he had cleared during his administration. Because of poor navigation the ship was wrecked in the Bristol Channel, with the loss of eighty-one persons, among them Kieft, the minister Bogardus, and a son of Melyn. Melyn himself floating on his back, was driven on a sand bank which became dry with the ebb. There he and a few other survivors fastened some planks together, and with their shirts for sails managed to reach the mainland where they also found

Kuyter. The latter had clutched a cannon, believing it to be a man, and had been thrown on land together with the part of the ship on which it stood, to the great astonishment of the English, who crowded the beach by thousands. For three days Melyn and Kuyter dragged for their papers, a small part of which they finally recovered from the sea.

Having appealed his case to the States General, Melyn obtained full redress and, in spite of the sentence of banishment pronounced against him by Governor Stuyvesant, was permitted to return to New Netherland in 1648. In the next year, however, he decided to join the Delegates of New Netherland on their mission to the home country, as he himself declares in his remonstrance to the West India Company of 1659, "in order to be present in cases that might concern me, but mostly to look for means to restock my ruined colony and again, if possible, to restore the same, by my power and capital . . . had been very much diminished." Evidently Melyn feared an attack upon his rights as patroon of Staten Island because of his failure to settle at least fifty colonists on his lands. These fears were not unfounded, for in 1650 Governor Stuyvesant complained to the authorities at home that only two families were living on Staten Island and only eight *morgens* of land were in cultivation.

Just in the nick of time, however, Melyn found in the baron Hendrick van der Capellen the kind of partner who could save his colony from being appropriated by the West India Company. The latter served on the committee of the States General for the affairs of New Netherland, which had reported favorably on the petition by Melyn and Kuyter in 1648, and showed a good deal of understanding for the complaints of the Delegates from New Netherland. As early as 1647 Melyn had offered Van der Capellen a third share in his colony, subject to the approval of Godert van Reede, his old partner, who still had title to half the island. Now in 1650 this deal was completed, so that Melyn, Van der Capellen, and the heirs of Van Reede each had a third of the property. Although each partner was to be responsible for and to settle his own section, Van der Capellen agreed

to further the joint interest at home; Melyn in turn was to keep an eye on Van der Capellen's people. Just at this time too, under the joint pressure of the States General and of the delegates from America (under the leadership of Adriaen van der Donck, who was one of the witnesses to the intricate contract which Melyn had negotiated)—just then the Company issued a new charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, which was in fact a replica of the first one in 1629.

Soon afterwards, in August 1650, Melyn sailed to America on the *Nieu Nederlandische Fortuyn* in charge of seventy colonists hired by Van der Capellen, among whom were seven farmers, a superintendent, a carpenter, and many women, children, and servants. On arriving at Manhattan however, Melyn, who had been forced to put into a Rhode Island port to obtain victuals and water for his people, was immediately arrested by Director Stuyvesant on charges of illegal trading. The ship and the goods were confiscated and even Melyn's property on Manhattan was attached and sold. Disgusted, Melyn retired to his colony on the island leaving it to his partner at home to sue the Company for damages.

The colony soon prospered. "Those arriving from the Menatans," says Melyn in his remonstrance, "were surprised at the large crop of grain which had been produced through our diligence; and there had been commenced sixteen handsome farms . . . covered with twenty-seven buildings: houses, racks, and barns, each well provided with cattle . . ." Eleven of these *bouweries* belonged to Van der Capellen, whose colony by 1655 had a population of over ninety souls.

In this year, however, new troubles arose. During the expedition against the Swedes on the Delaware, Stuyvesant again imprisoned Melyn, this time on a charge of corresponding with the enemy. In the meantime war broke out with the Indians; after much pleading by his family and friends, Melyn was released. He returned to Staten Island to see if his colony could be saved from the savages. But it was in vain, says the remonstrance:

... for a few days later, . . . [they] arrived there in great number and commenced to attack our people, to set fire to the houses, stacks, barns mostly full of grain, so that the people were obliged to seek safety in my house, which they [the Indians] also succeeded in setting afire. And when the cinders began to fall down on us, we were forced to leave it and obliged to break through the savages to enable us to retire to another small house, standing close to the shore. Here we held out for some time longer, hoping meanwhile to receive some assistance from the Menatans. But all in vain. At last the savages called out to us that if we desired quarter, they would grant the same to us, whereupon we resolved . . . because from among our number already 15 or 16 persons, among whom my son 22 years old, my son in law; and two nephews had been shot dead, besides some wounded; and thus fifty-one in number went into captivity among the savages, where we remained 31 days, until I had raised a ransom of about 1400 guilders for myself, wife, son, and son in law, which was to be paid if we did not want to be burnt alive in a fire that for this purpose had already been prepared and was burning. Subsequently arriving at the Menatans, as miserable as we well could be, we hoped to enjoy some quiet after our sad imprisonment. But the next day there arrived at my lodgings Secretary Van Reuven, with a sergeant in command of soldiers armed with firearms and sword, saying, 'Melyn, the Director sends us hither and lets you know that you must try to find more ransom, for the savages are not yet satisfied,' and forced me immediately to go in search of 60 or 70 guilders additional payment, if I did not want to be put in the former prison. . . . After all that had [sic] befallen me I have resolved to quit the Menatans . . . and for the time being to put myself under the protection of the English, and consequently [have] departed with my family for New Haven.

In the same year that the remonstrance was written, on June 13, 1659, Melyn finally sold his rights as patroon of Staten Island to the West India Company, retaining only what remained of his private possessions there. Of course, when one reads the letters from the directors in Holland to Stuyvesant, Melyn appears less a victim than he does in his own account. Nevertheless his story reveals that he was sincere in his desire to establish a colony, and that there were hazards in being a patroon in Company-controlled New Netherland.

Of the colonists of baron Van der Capellen fifteen, including a superintendent and two carpenters, had lost their lives in the Indian raid of 1655. Two years later of the original number of more than ninety souls only sixty-two were

reported living, and of these just Van der Capellen's agent, Captain Adriaen Post, his wife, five children, one male and one female servant were still on Staten Island; the others resided either at Fort Orange or on Manhattan or Long Island. Van der Capellen renewed his efforts at colonization in 1637; three years later, however, his heir sold out to the Company, which later settled some French Walloons on the southern side of the island. In June 1664 these people were granted a separate court of justice.

With the exception of Van Rensselaer's colony, all the patroonships had definitely proved a failure by 1660. And even there the increase in population had been extremely slow in the beginning. The first colonists sailed from Texel on March 21, 1630, in the Company's ship *De Eendragt*, provided with live stock and all necessities, and arrived at Manhattan after a passage of sixty-four days. They settled in the neighborhood of Fort Orange. Others followed, but hardly more than half a dozen men each year. So few people were willing to emigrate that the patroon repeatedly turned to the Company's tenants on Manhattan for personnel. Van Rensselaer was wise, however, not to send any large number of settlers until sufficient land had been brought under cultivation to insure an adequate supply of food for the newcomers. When this condition had been fulfilled, in the fall of 1636, he managed to send over thirty-eight persons and from then on the population increased steadily. This was especially true after 1639 when the right to trade with the Indians was opened up.

During Governor Kieft's Indian War, Kiliaen van Rensselaer decided to concentrate his settlers in a village centering around the church. The location was to be on the east side of the river, on the site of the later Greenbush. As early as 1639 tithes had been introduced for the support of a minister in the colony. After three years the patroon finally found a suitable person in the Rev. Johannes Megapolensis. On August 11, 1642, the new minister arrived at Rensselaerswyck—for so the domain had been called since 1632—together with a surgeon, a brewer, and a number of freemen, farmers, and servants. In the next year a place of

worship was erected, not as originally planned—a regular church forty-eight feet wide, a model of which had been sent in 1639—but only a temporary building, thirty-four feet long by nineteen feet wide, which later could be turned into a dwelling house for the sexton, or a school.

The policy of concentrating the settlers, however, apparently had not yet been successful; for when Father Jogues visited Rensselaerswyck in 1643, he described the colony as composed of about one hundred persons, residing in some twenty-five or thirty houses, which were built along the river as each found it most convenient. Since little land was fit for tillage, the colonists had already spread themselves out over two or three leagues of territory. In the principal house resided the patroon's agent (at that time Van Rensselaer's grandnephew Arent van Curler, to whose sympathetic understanding and tactful diplomacy Rensselaerswyck owed the blessing of uninterrupted peace with the Indians). *Dr. Megapolensis* had his house apart, in which services were still performed at the time of Jogues' visit. There was also a bailiff (Adriaen van der Donck) who administered justice. All the houses were merely of boards and thatched; except for the chimneys there was as yet no masonry (not until 1652 was a brick kiln established in the colony). Sawmills were in operation, and the colonists had sown the former fields of the Indians with wheat and oats for their beer and for their horses, of which they had a great stock.

As in the early days at Manhattan the population of Rensselaerswyck consisted of freemen, masters, and servants. The last were contract laborers who bound themselves from three to six years to perform any kind of work in which they might be assigned, in return for free passage and board. In addition they received fixed annual wages, ranging from fifteen to forty guilders for "boys" to about one hundred fifty guilders for skilled laborers. As they were usually bound out to the manager of a farm, plantation, mill, or brewery, they were of course not free in the choice of their place of residence.

This was true also of the masters, whose position was

very similar to that of the head farmers on the Company's *boweries* at Manhattan. They came out as managers of agriculture or industrial enterprises, the patroon providing the land, buildings, cattle, implements, and servants. The master shared equally with the patroon in the net proceeds of the work, after all expenses for the procuring, conveying, board and wages of the servants, for board of the master and his family, and for the repairs of implements and buildings had been deducted.

Beginning in 1641, however, a new arrangement was made whereby the burden of the expenses was more definitely shifted to the master, and the patroon received a fixed proportion, probably one-third, of the total proceeds. Finally, after the death of the first patroon in 1643, the share-lease gradually gave way to a fixed and definite periodic rental. This new type of lease had been evolved by 1654 and continued exclusively in use for the next quarter century.

According to instructions sent to Van Curler on June 16, 1640, the master farmers were apparently looked upon as "freemen." As a rule, though, this term was used to designate those artisans whom the patroon authorized to settle in his colony at their own expense and to ply their trade there to the exclusion of all others for the period of six years. They were bound by their contract to take the oath of fealty to the patroon and were like the farmers subject to the payment of tithes. At first the freemen were at liberty to take up their residence in the domain wherever they saw fit, but from 1642 on they were enjoined to dwell together in the village at Greenbush. These conditions were offered to outsiders as well as to those of the patroon's servants who had served their term and wished to continue to reside in the colony.

Although the patroon declared in his 1640 instruction that he was "not averse to selling in course of time a few farms in perpetuity to those who shall be inclined to have means to take them, and in this way gradually to form a community," neither he nor his successors ever carried out this intention. In his "Answer to the Representation of New

Netherland" of 1650, Secretary Van Tienhoven pointed out that at Rensselaerswyck "no one down to the present time can possess a foot of land of his own." If one of Van Rensselaer's freemen wished to have a house and garden, he was obliged to "pay an annual rent or five stivers per Rhineland foot, and for land used in raising tobacco, wheat, or other fruits, twenty guilders per Rhineland morgen, newly cleared land to be free for a number of years," according to the "Rebates of the abuses and faults in the colony of Rensselaerswyck" of September 5, 1643. In this respect the patroon's policy compared very unfavorably with that of the Company, which from the very beginning, as we have seen, granted its freemen as much land as they could improve in full ownership, subject only to an annual quitrent.

The economic freedom of masters and freemen alike was curtailed by the patroon's monopoly, which prevented the colonists from buying or selling in an open market. The patroon, for instance, had the right to preempt the farmer's share of the grain crop and the increase of cattle, or the labor of the free artisan at the prices or daily wages fixed by contract. If a freeman wanted to sell his property in the colony, and the patroon chose to make use of his right of preemption, the colonist was expressly forbidden to "force the same upon the patroon at an [impartially] appraised valuation." Likewise the patroon strove hard—but with little success—to retain a complete control over all imports into his colony. In 1643 he even went so far as to prevent any but the Company's ships from sailing up the Hudson beyond Barren Island at the southern tip of the domain; for this purpose he fortified the island with some small cannon. Naturally the adoption of such a course brought the patroon into conflict not only with his own tenants, who resented especially the preemption of their share of the grain for marketing, but even more so with the free traders who, after the traffic with the Indians had been opened to the public, flocked to Fort Orange in ever increasing numbers.

In the early days of Rensselaerswyck the patroon had always strictly forbidden his tenants to engage in any way in the fur trade, mainly from a desire to avoid all possible

cause for conflict with the Company. After 1639, however, Van Rensselaer permitted his colonists to trade for skins up to a specified number, first on shares, later on payment of a fixed duty. But all outsiders were to be excluded from this lucrative business. A bitter struggle between the domain and the free traders ensued, which only increased in intensity after the death of the first patroon, and finally even embroiled the domain with the province. As long as the Company had engaged in the fur trade on its own account, it had made common cause with the patroon against the interlopers who spoiled business and made everything cheap for the Indians. But in 1644 the Company retired from the fur market, leaving the free traders as the self-appointed heirs to its trading rights—a conclusion by no means pleasing to the patroon.

Three years later Wouter van Twiller, co-guardian of the first patroon's estate, devised a new type of trading license for the domain, whereby the right to trade for furs was attached to the lease of a house and lot at a fixed annual rent. On the theory that all the land around Fort Orange belonged to the patroon, the domain-officials then proceeded to let building lots for their own people right up to the walls of the fort, hoping thus to prevent the inhabitants from having even a vegetable patch, and in general to hamper their communication with the Indians.

In the resulting conflicts the Company's subjects at the fort were always at a disadvantage, since the only court of justice on hand was the one at Rensselaerswyck. Finally, after much bickering, Governor Stuyvesant settled the problem in 1652 by incorporating Fort Orange and its immediate vicinity (land within a radius of 150 Rhineland rods) as the town of Beverwyck with a petty jurisdiction of its own. The new town included the little settlement of the patroon's tenants immediately adjoining the fort, which from its two converging main streets had been hitherto known as the *Fuyck*.

About a hundred houses had been built in Beverwyck by this time, and immediately after the incorporation many new lots were granted. The number of 127 houses given

by Ds. Schaets in 1657 does not, therefore, seem exaggerated. The total number of able-bodied men both in the domain and the town was estimated in 1653 at 230, which would imply a total population of about 1,100 souls. Only a small number of these can have been employed in agriculture, for at that time there were not more than fourteen or fifteen *houweries* at Rensselaerswyck. From the days of Ds. Megapolensis on, the domain and the fort had formed one congregation, despite their secular differences; and in 1657 his successor Ds. Schaets reported that if all came, he might expect 600 people in church. In July of that year Schaets changed from the patroon's service to that of the town of Beverwyck, where a church had been built in the preceding year. Under his pastorate membership in the church increased from 130 at his arrival in 1660.

Before the end of Dutch rule both Beverwyck and Rensselaerswyck had founded daughter colonies at Schenectady, where a grant of land was made to Arent van Cutler in 1661, and at Esopus, half way between Fort Orange and New Amsterdam, in what is now Ulster County. Begun in 1652 by Thomas Chambers of Rensselaerswyck, the settlement at Esopus counted from sixty to seventy colonists in 1658, and three years later was incorporated as the village of Wiltwyck (now Kingston) with sixty-seven taxable inhabitants. Wiltwyck managed to survive the Indian raid of June 7, 1663, in which twelve houses were burned, eighteen people killed, and nine more taken prisoner; the recently started "New Village," however, was entirely destroyed, with the loss of three men and thirty-five prisoners. Fortunately during the military expedition under Captain Martin Cregier and at the following peace all the captives were recovered.

Meanwhile the population of New Amsterdam and its immediate vicinity had increased from 270 souls in 1628 to 1500 in 1664. This growth had been very spasmodic, however. When Jogues visited Manhattan just after Governor Kieft's first Indian war, he estimated that there were still 400 or 500 men around there; but according to Melyn,

at the beginning of Stuyvesant's term this number had dwindled to 100.

Additions were made to the population on the lower Hudson at various times and from various sources. Governor Van Twiller at his arrival in the colony in 1633 had brought 140 soldiers with him. In 1644, 200 soldiers and colonists from Brazil, where the authority of the West India Company was rapidly breaking down, were forwarded to New Netherland from Curaçao by Peter Stuyvesant, then governor of that island. In March 1650, as a result of intensive recruiting in the home country by Van der Donck and the other Representatives of New Netherland, within two weeks 140 persons were ready to sail on the *Valckenier*, and thirty more had to be refused for lack of accommodations. The Company, apparently impressed by this success, now made a contract with Van der Donck, Jacob van Couwenhoven, and Bouts for the conveyance of another 200 passengers before June 1 of that year. From this time on there was a constant flow of emigration to New Netherland, interrupted only by the Anglo-Dutch war of 1652-54.

The increase in the population of the province is reflected in the rapid expansion of its capital. New Amsterdam, which received a jurisdiction of its own, separate from that of the governor's court in 1653, three years later counted 120 houses. By 1660 the number had increased to 350. The growth of the town had been stimulated particularly by the Indian war of 1655 when many people from the outlying districts sought the protection of the fort and its garrison and applied for a house and lot there.

In the last seventeen years of Dutch rule the population of New Netherland is believed to have quintupled, from 2,000 souls to 10,000. This was partly due to the more liberal policy adopted towards the colonists by the Company, which belatedly had come to realize the importance of populating its possessions.

Several reasons had led the Company to change its attitude toward colonization. Finding itself in straitened circumstances as a result of the war with the Portuguese in Brazil and discovering that it was trading at a loss in New

Netherland, regardless of its monopoly of the fur business, the Company in desperation became an advocate of free trade to and from this particular possession; it hoped thereby to attract a large number of traders and settlers and thus to increase consumption, freights, and duties. Of course this change in policy was effected only slowly and always remained incomplete. In vain Van der Donck and his associates leveled one of their main attacks against the imports which raised the cost of living so in the colony: until the very last the Company clung to its duties on imports and exports. But under pressure from the colonists themselves and from the States General, where men like baron Van der Capellen took a personal interest in colonization, the Company's monopoly of trade was gradually loosened.

The opening of the fur trade in 1639 had been the first step in this direction. In 1645 the trade between the colony and the home country was opened to individuals; three years later the colonists were allowed to export their agricultural products to Brazil; and in 1652 they received permission to import negroes from Angola in their own ships. In this same year the export duty on tobacco was abolished, and finally in 1659, "after long deliberation," the directors wrote Stuyvesant that they even consented to a further extension of the freedom of trade for the inhabitants of New Netherland "under the express condition, that the ships, sailing thence for French, Spanish, Italian ports, the Caribbean Islands and elsewhere, to trade with their cargoes of products of the country, salt-fish, goods and merchandises, shall be bound to return with . . . cargoes procured with the proceeds of their ventures, either to this City of Amsterdam or to the place of your residence [New Amsterdam] . . . in order to pay . . . upon discharging and selling their cargoes such duties and convey fees, as the Company receives here."

This support of colonization by the Company for a long time remained purely passive. When in 1650 the committee of the States General on West India affairs, following the suggestion of the Delegates from New Netherland, recommended that the Company spend annually 15,000

guilders for the conveyance of families to its colony, the Chamber at Amsterdam replied that for want of money and out of fairness to its creditors, the Company could not pledge itself to such an expenditure. Six years later, however, after repeated efforts to compel the skippers to reduce their fares had proved unsuccessful, the Company decided that "henceforth all mechanics and farmers, who can prove their ability to earn a living there, shall receive free passage for themselves, their wives and children." This free passage, the directors explained afterwards to Stuyvesant, was to be considered as a loan to be repaid when the settlers were in better circumstances or if they left the Company's territory. Two years earlier the clause in the passports to freemen compelling them to remain in the colony for a certain number of years had been repealed.

Thus the colonists had succeeded in wresting some important economic privileges from the Company. The nature of the pressure exerted by the growing agricultural community is clearly revealed in the proposal which the magistrates of Gravesend submitted to the directors at Amsterdam on September 14, 1651. Considering that "traders and factors . . . do not add to the public prosperity, but come and go solely for their individual profit and advantage," they requested permission to charter

. . . some ships in Holland for the behoof of this country, to bring over whatever we stand in need of, vizt, passengers and servant men, which we mostly lack, as we are too much fatigued by work. . . . In case your Honors will be pleased to consent, for a certain time, and the agents, who shall be employed therein have the liberty to hire or engage servant men who also, shall be distributed according to the goodwill and pleasure of the Governor and Council, the masters paying 50 per cent for the expenses of their passage and other outfits, this country will be able to absorb, yearly, five . . . [to] six hundred.

The reaction of the directors to this proposal was favorable, and although they feared that the cost of provisioning even 100 to 150 persons might prove to be prohibitive, they started negotiations for freighting a ship of 200 lasts, armed with twenty guns for which they were willing to pay 8,000 guilders or even a little more. Just then, however, the Bur-

gomasters of Amsterdam offered them "150 boys and girls from the orphan asylums, willing to be carried to New Netherland, at 30 guilders passage money per head or 8 shillings a day for board." Since by this time fares had increased to fifty guilders per person, this was quite a bargain. Hence the directors made "arrangements with some skippers for the passage of the young persons, . . . [and] agreed with the Burgomasters upon the conditions under which the children were to be placed with good masters . . ." Presumably the plan would have gone through had not the first hostilities with England broken out at that moment.

Sending over orphans had been first considered in 1650, but at that time the proposal had been dismissed as "offering too many inconveniences." Immediately after the conclusion of the peace of Westminster (1654), however, the directors informed Stuyvesant that they were sending a group of boys and girls in the *Pereboom* and *Gelderse Blom*, making first a trial with 50 persons." These children arrived in the fall and were lodged in the house of Mr. Allerton, which Stuyvesant had hired for the purpose on November 9. In the following year, on May 27, a second party arrived in the *Waegh*, consisting of ten girls (from thirteen to twenty-three years of age) and seven boys (from twelve to seventeen). Finally in 1659 six more came over in the *Trouw*. But in Stuyvesant's opinion the orphans made poor colonists, and the experiment was apparently discontinued.

The changed attitude of the Company toward colonization was also reflected in its land policy. Whereas by the freedoms and Exemptions of 1629 the Company had abandoned the field of colonization to large capitalists, members of the Company, after 1638 it directed its main efforts toward attracting small farmers and artisans. Consequently in the next year the fur trade was opened to all, to the dismay of Van Rensselaer, who thought that the Company made a great mistake in preferring "many poor beggars" to "people of means, who with their money could send all sorts of men and . . . would secure the Company against loss and offense in that country."

The charter of 1640 represented a compromise between these two opposing views. On the one hand big capital was once more offered an opportunity to invest in patroonships, although of a greatly reduced size, as we have seen; on the other, the clause in the old charter whereby "private persons" had been authorized to "choose and take possession of as much land as they can properly cultivate and hold the same in full ownership"—this clause now added a chance for a local government to be chosen by Governor and Council from a triple number nominated by the townsmen.

As time wore on, the Company became increasingly wary of granting extensive tracts of land and rights of government to patroons, thus raising up a class of powerful vassals who one day might decide to rid themselves of its overlordship and place themselves immediately under the authority of the States General. (This fear explains a good deal of the hostility of Stuyvesant toward Melyn and Vander Capellen.) Besides, as a means of peopling the country, the system of patroonships had proved clearly to be of little value. The preemption of the best land by the wealthy speculators even threatened to retard actual settlement. Furthermore there were frequent quarrels between rival claimants, such as that between Van der Capellen and Cornelis van Werckhoven over territory on the Raritan River. By 1655, therefore, the Company would have no more of it. In a letter to Stuyvesant of September 25 of that year the directors wrote that they had long ago (as early as 1652) considered the granting of such colonies as Rensselaerswyck "unadvisable and injurious to the increase of population and that instead of it they had decided "to accommodate private parties with as much land, as they are able to cultivate without giving them any privileges." Likewise they repeatedly urged the Governor to be on his guard against land speculation and to encourage the forming of village communities.

The development of town life in New Netherland had been greatly retarded by the extreme individualism of the Dutch settlers. Almost all the early land grants of the West India Company were made to single individuals. There

had been no immigration of organized bodies nor settlement in towns as in New England. Since the defense of the scattered farms was very difficult, the government was never quite able to cope with the Indian menace, as was revealed in the wars of 1640-45 and 1655. In 1656 and again in 1660, therefore, orders went out to the colonists enforcing them to build forts and towns. Stuyvesant visited Wiltwyck in person, seeing to it that a fort was built and that town lots were apportioned. Certain settlements, like Bergen, Flatbush (begun in 1652), and New Haerlem (begun in 1658) were speedily incorporated. But for the most part, several years elapsed before the towns had grown sufficiently to warrant the grant of a separate court of justice. This is true not only of Beverwyck and Wiltwyck, but also of the other Dutch towns on Long Island.

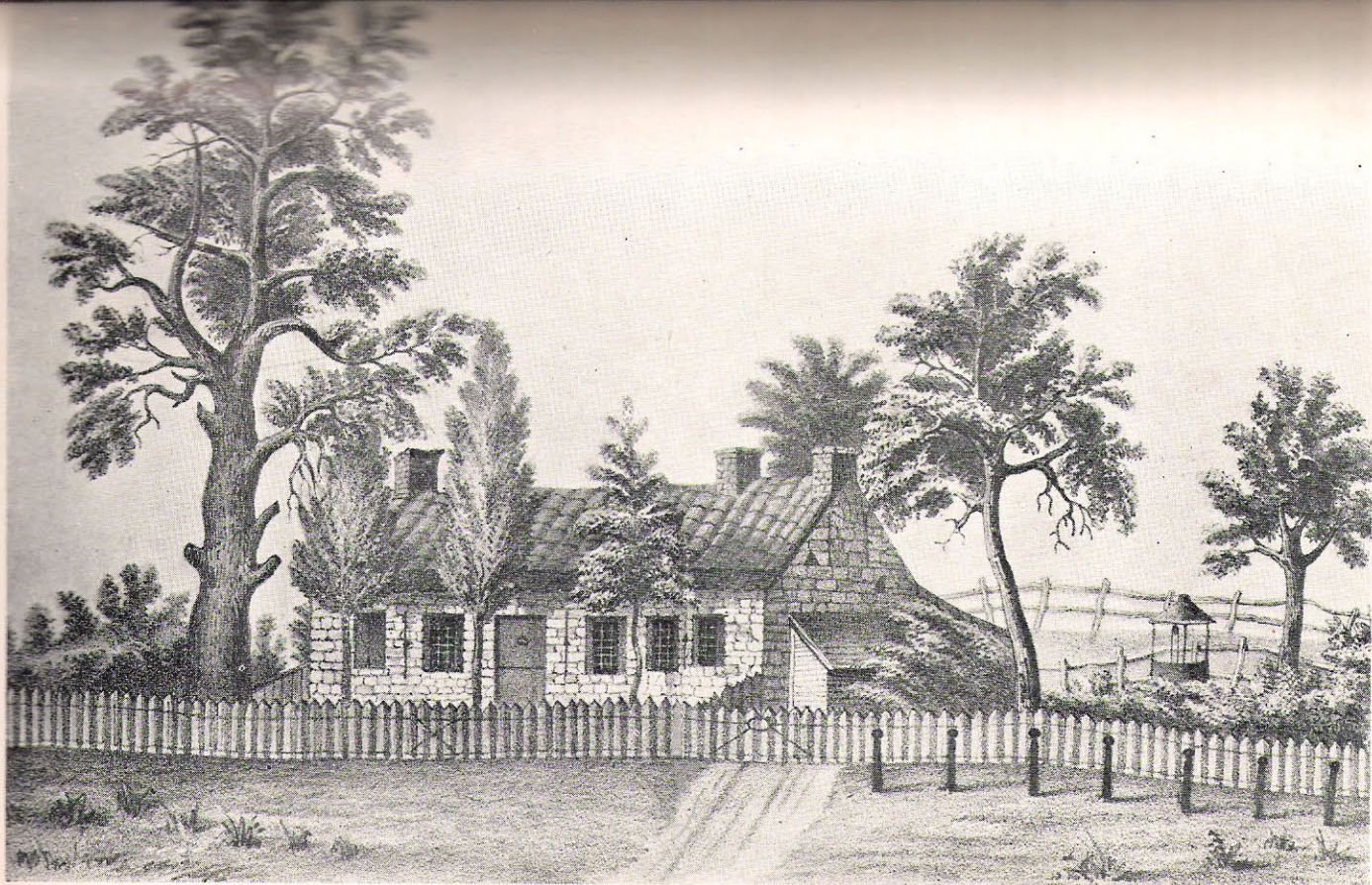
The oldest settlement here, New Amersfoort (later Flatlands), founded in 1636 by Jacobus van Cunter, Andries Hudde, Wollert Gerritsen (van Couwenhoven), and Governor Van Twiller, was not incorporated until 1654. And even then the town for some time had to share its jurisdiction with Midwout (Flatbush), where one Jan Snediker had begun the settlement. At the time of its incorporation, Midwout could hardly yet have been organized, for not until October 16, 1655, did the Director and Council authorize Jan Strycker, Adriaen Hegeman, and Thomas Bwartbout, "Inhabitants and Magistrates of the village of Midwout," for their greater concentration and security, "to lay out the village according to the plan proposed by them, provided that five or six lots be reserved for Public buildings, such as the Sheriff, the Minister, the Secretary, Schoolmaster, village Tavern and public Courthouse. . . ." In 1661 New Amersfoort and Midwout each finally received its separate court of justice.

Breukelen, on the other hand, had become a town as early as 1646, and by 1661 counted 130 inhabitants. This latter year witnessed also the incorporation of Boswyck, a town of twenty-three families, and of New Utrecht, which attained an equal number of inhabitants three years later. The troubles which Company officials encountered in

their role of foster parents to young settlements are well illustrated by the records relating to New Utrecht, founded on Long Island in 1657. The most important person to become interested in this venture, though he was not its prime mover, was the Lord Councillor and Fiscal, Nicastus de Sille, who obtained one of the original twenty lots and from time to time added to his property. For several years he was apparently the go-between for the other settlers and the directors in New Amsterdam, and—according to his own account—was besieged by “difficulties and disturbances [which] caused the Fiscal much running around and made him weary.”

Year in and year out these “difficulties and disturbances” were approximately the same. People were given grants of land, but did *not* improve them within the specified six weeks; people kept hogs and cattle, but did *not* keep their fences tight (good fences have made good neighbors in other regions than New England!); the settlers were granted ammunition to be ready for Indian raids, but used it instead to shoot venison and game; they scattered themselves widely over their farming property, and would *not* build houses close together in the town, nor would they prepare a community blockhouse for protection.

Stuyvesant exhorted the inhabitants to greater civic responsibility on his visit to New Utrecht in February 1660. But though the Prince’s flag was “hoisted on a high pole in the center of the village . . . and Ruth [Ruiger] Joosten prepared a dinner . . . in as good stile as the place could afford,” the Governor’s words carried small weight. For ten months later De Sille wrote plaintively to the authorities in Amsterdam that someone still needed “to stimulate the people to build dwelling houses, a block house and public pound [for the inevitable stray hogs] . . . , and to dig wells for the benefit of the community.” One thing, to be sure, had been accomplished by Stuyvesant’s visit: the village had been enclosed with a high palisade fence; but that was only because the Council had sent out a crew of negroes to do the job, which was speedily finished to the Fiscal’s great satisfaction.



House built by Nicastus de Sille at New Utrecht in 1657 from Field's *Historic and Antiquarian Scenes*

After acting as sheriff for New Utrecht from February to December 1660, De Sille was eager to be rid of supervising the town and its squabbles over "absentees and evil doers, who refuse to listen to reason and . . . will not obey the serjeant." There must have been times when the Company longed to be rid of it too, and other towns like it, with their manifold, tiresome problems of sanitation, safety from the Indians, and settlement which was genuine and not just speculation in land.

The ill fate which the colony of Swaanendael on the Delaware had met at the hands of the Indians in 1632 delayed the settlement of that region by the Dutch for over twenty years. In the meantime the Swedes established themselves at Fort Christina, some twenty-seven miles below the old Dutch post, Fort Nassau, thereby wresting control of the river from the Dutch. But colonial rivalries had to be held in check as long as the home countries were still fighting side by side in the Thirty Years' War.

Soon after 1648, however, relations between Sweden and Holland became less cordial, and in 1651 Stuyvesant, repeating the Swedish stratagem, built a new Dutch stronghold, Fort Casimir, below Fort Christina on the same side of the Delaware River. Two years later twenty-six Dutch families were settled here. The next move was made by the Swedish commander, Risingh, who in 1654 took over Fort Casimir with its twenty-two houses, and naturalized the Dutch settlers. Stuyvesant accepted the challenge, and with a force larger than the entire Swedish population, compelled the surrender of Fort Christina and of all New Sweden on September 25 of the following year.

The aggressive policy of Sweden's new king Charles X which tended to upset the balance of power in the Baltic at last definitely alienated the States General from their former ally. In 1656 a Dutch fleet under De Ruyter relieved Danzig from the Swedish blockade. The unstable state of affairs in the Baltic caused the city of Amsterdam to investigate the possibility of obtaining its naval stores from New Netherland; and since financial difficulties seemed to prevent the West India Company from develop-

ing the country, the city decided to found a colony of its own. For this purpose it bought from the Company the originally Dutch section of New Sweden south of the Mingoos Kill on April 12, 1657. The town of New Amstel (New Castle), which had been laid out south of Fort Casimir, was to be the center of the new settlement.

Already in 1656 Amsterdam had been active in promoting emigration to its proposed colony. Conditions for prospective emigrants were printed and issued separately, as well as appended to a second edition of Van der Donck's famous *Description of New Netherland*. The settlers, who were bound to stay in the colony for four years, were promised free land for their habitation "with streets, a market and lots suitable for the service as well of traders and mechanics, as of farmers," free clothing and seed grain for one year, a storehouse in the charge of a factor, who would sell all articles "at the prices they are sold here," a schoolmaster, and a civil government consisting of a *schoot* (to be appointed by the City), three burgomasters (to be appointed by the common burghers), and five or six *schepenen* (to be chosen by the City from a double number nominated by the burghers). When the town grew to two hundred families, the inhabitants were to choose a Common Council of twenty-one persons, which from then on would be a closed corporation and would replace the citizens in the election of burgomasters and *schepenen*. Farmers were to have in fee simple as much land as they could improve in two years. The settlers would be exempt from taxes for ten, and from quitrents for twenty years. They might ship their products to Amsterdam, where the city would undertake the sale of the cargoes at a charge of two per cent for commission, withholding also temporarily ten per cent of the net proceeds of such sales until the money advanced by the City for the passage of the colonists and the freight of their goods would have thus been repaid. Whatever the colonists bought at the warehouse would likewise be deducted from the sale of their exports.

In December 1656 the first consignment of emigrants was shipped over, and by October 1658 there were about

six hundred souls in New Amstel. To provide food for so many people would have been a big problem even if there had been a sufficient number of experienced farmers among the settlers. Unfortunately, as has been previously noted Amsterdam was rather careless in the selection of its colonists. Most of them were town dwellers, not farmers at all. Of the thirty grants of land made in 1656-7, twenty one were for town lots; only nine for ground suitable for agriculture. Skilled labor was also scarce. In March 1657 there was not a carpenter in town; sawn boards had to be sent for to Albany. Not until 1659 was a brick kiln established. It need not surprise us, therefore, that the colony never became self-supporting. And when in December 1657 article nine of the conditions of emigration, which had guaranteed the settlers free food and clothing during one year, was abrogated, the people began to run away in numbers. Hunger, disease, and fear by conquest by Maryland rapidly destroyed the colony. In the second year of the settlement one hundred persons died. And by the end of the following year scarcely thirty families were left.

In spite of this apparent failure, Amsterdam from time to time made attempts to revive its colony both by further liberalizing the conditions of settlement and by the dispatch of additional shiploads of emigrants. Fifty-eight colonists and other laboring persons departed to New Amstel on November 27, 1661, and March 11, 1662, with the merchant ships *Purmerlande Keike* and *Gulden Arent*. On July 28 of the next year, after Amsterdam had acquired also the original Swedish territory north of the Mingo Kill, skipper Peter Luckassen discharged an additional sixty farm laborers and girls at the City's colony. The men were hired out to farmers and at the same time engaged as soldiers at an annual pay of one hundred guilders and board "by the bellyful." The girls, six or seven in number, were sent along to cook and wash for them. Later in the same year 150 more settlers came over with the new governor, d'Hinoyossa, most of them indentured servants. They were either "discharged, to take up land for themselves or hire out to others," or "bound out by Mr. d'Hinoy

ossa for as many years as his Honor or the City had engaged them for in Holland, at 50, 60 and 80 or more guilders per year." The farmers may pay in wheat at 30 stivers the *schepel*. It is almost the same method as that of the English trade in servants," remarked Beekman in a letter to Stuyvesant, on December 28, 1663.

The arrival of four hundred colonists annually was expected. But whatever hopes the men of Amsterdam may have entertained for their colony were dashed by the English conquest of New Netherland in the following year. Unlike New Amsterdam and Rensselaerswyck, New Amstel resisted the English attack. It was consequently plundered, contrary to the instructions to the English Commander, Sir Robert Carr; the Dutch soldiers were taken to Virginia and sold into slavery.

A similar fate overtook the small colony which Pieter Cornelisz. Plockhoy had been instrumental in founding in the latter part of 1662 on the site of the former patroonship of Swanendael. This settlement, though unsuccessful, deserves special attention since it represents the first attempt to establish a socialist Utopia on American soil.

Plockhoy, a citizen of Zierikzee in the province of Zeeland and presumably a Mennonite, had been greatly disturbed by the dissensions which rent Christianity in his day. He had conceived a plan for a universal Christian brotherhood which he hoped to persuade Cromwell to adopt. In 1658 therefore he left his home town for London, where he was granted several interviews by the Lord Protector. In two letters Plockhoy further explained his views. By establishing in every city and county a common center of worship in the shape of an amphitheatre with seating steps, where reading of the Holy Scriptures would be followed by a brief period of free discussion, he hoped to promote good will and understanding among the different sects. This, however, was not enough; effectively to break the might of sectarianism, the State must withdraw its support of the ministry. Religion would then know no boundaries.

Undaunted by Cromwell's death on September 3, Plock-

hoy addressed himself to Parliament in a third letter, again urging complete separation of Church and State. He had this letter together with the two earlier ones to Cromwell published under the title *The Way to the Peace and Settlement of these nations . . . wherein the Liberty of speaking . . . is opposed against Anti-Christ . . . who will not grant the same to others; and now published . . . to raise up an universal Magistrate in Christendom, that can suffer all Sorts of People (of what Religion soever they are) in any one country, as God (the great Magistrate) suffers the same in all the Countries of the World . . .* Printed in the year 1659. In that same year Plockhoy also published a socialist tract entitled *A way propounded to make the poor in these and other nations happy, by bringing together a fit suitable and well qualified people unto one Household government . . .*, in which he anticipated many ideas of John Bellers, for whom both Robert Owen and Karl Marx have expressed deep admiration. Plockhoy declared his intentions to found such an association first in London, then in Bristol, and afterwards in Ireland, where land and all other essentials could be had cheaply.

Finding, however, that Parliament was more concerned with the restoration of the Stuarts than with the separation of Church and State, and that England was no longer the happy hunting ground for social reformers that it had been since the Revolution, Plockhoy returned to his native country.

Just at this time the city of Amsterdam desperately needed additional settlers to retrieve the shattered fortune of its colony on the Delaware. Plockhoy immediately opened negotiations with the Amsterdam authorities for the establishment in America of a coöperative society. Membership was open to married men or single men over twenty years of age. Needed were farmers, sailors, artisans, and professional people who would "all work for the common good and benefit like members of one family." But capitalists residing in the home country might also venture their money in the colony; in return they were promised one half the profit upon their capital as interest. After the

colony had been in existence for a year or two, new members desiring a share in "all that is common" would be required to pay for that privilege either in money, wares, or labor.

Members who misbehaved could be expelled by a vote of two-thirds of the community, but remained nevertheless entitled to their share in the profits up until the moment of expulsion. Those who wished to leave the society or to reside elsewhere could do so by selling their share or providing a substitute, if they had first made good their debt to the group.

No one was to be subject to the control of any one individual. The principle of equality extended to the economic as well as to the administrative and religious organization. Everybody was to contribute six hours of labor per day for the common profit, Sundays and holidays of course excepted. The remaining time the settlers were free to use for their own advantage. To this end the men might select out of the common grounds a piece of land for their private use. Sailors and others "whose labor cannot be accommodated to any fixed hours" would receive from the society some other form of compensation for overtime work. Everyone was allowed to trade privately with the goods produced on his own time, but in order to avoid "the risk of loss," the public trade of the colony was to be carried on only by those who had capital or a wife and children and were thereby "as it were anchored in the society." All profits were to be divided equally among the members according to the number of individuals in a family. The undivided lands would be distributed by lot among the men "when their moneys are brought to the magistrate."

Although Plockhoy declared that "the name servant . . . has no place among us," yet the principle of professional or occupational leadership was acknowledged by the election of foremen or masters in all trades. Outsiders could even enter the service of one of the members and work privately for their master if they worked their six hours for the community like all others.

All matters of general concern were to be decided by

a majority of two-thirds of the whole. For the administration of the laws of the colony, every year those members thirty years of age or over were to elect a government consisting of a director and two bookkeeper-secretaries, who would also exercise a joint control over the common funds. These officers were to be chosen by a majority vote, "the names being written on folded pieces of paper." An appeal from any judgment by the town officers could be made to the City's magistrates at New Amstel or in Holland. Plockhoy's plan also called for the establishment of a militia to protect the colony in a case of attack, "since we believe only in defensive war"; conscientious objectors, however, were to be exempt from military service upon payment of an annual tax.

In matters of religion there was to be complete freedom of conscience. Divine service on Sunday mornings and holidays would consist in reading from the scriptures by one of the members and the singing of psalms and hymns. Should the increase in population, however, enable settlers to support their own preachers, they would be at liberty to do so. "This is a matter with which the society has nothing at all to do." Likewise the establishment of private schools and instruction by private teachers was not forbidden, although it was clearly Plockhoy's intention that the children and youths be taught "no human formulas of religion, but only the Holy Scriptures, natural sciences, and similar instructions enabling them to rightly use their reason and not by the inculcation of private opinions to destroy it." The children were to learn a suitable trade in addition to being taught to read, write, and cipher, and would divide their time between the school and the farm or workshop.

These ideas Plockhoy set forth in a pamphlet issued with the permission and express authorization of the City Fathers of Amsterdam with whom he had reached an agreement on June 9, 1662. The pamphlet was entitled *Short and clear plan serving as a mutual agreement to lighten the labor, anxiety and trouble of all kinds of handicraftsmen by the establishment of a . . . colony (under the protection*

of their High Mightinesses the Lords States General of the United Netherlands, and particularly under the favourable auspices of the Honorable Magistrates of the city of Amsterdam) on the South River in New Netherland . . . All who intended to participate were advised to be ready to start not later than the middle of September 1662 and were to come to the Brouwerstraet in Amsterdam at the "Orchard of New Netherland" between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning or to the Sea Dike in the "Gilded Boat" in the evening between 6 and 7 o'clock.

To this proposal were appended some "spurring verses" composed for the occasion by Jacob Steendam, New Netherland's first poet. Some of these lines are worth quoting.

You poor, who know not how your living to obtain;
You affluent, who seek in mind to be content;
Choose you New Netherland, which no one shall disdain;
Before your time and strength here fruitlessly are spent.

The birds obscure the sky, so numerous in their flight;
The animals roam wild, and flatten down the ground;
The fish swarm in the waters and exclude the light;
The oysters there, than which none better can be found,
Are piled up, heap on heap, till islands they attain;
And vegetation clothes the forest, mead and plain.

... a living view does always meet your eye,
O! Eden, and the promised land of Jacob's seed;
Who would not, then, in such a formed community,
Desire to be a freeman; and the rights decreed,
To each and every one, by Amstel's burgher Lords,
To enjoy? and treat with honor what their rule awards?

[Murphy's translation]

Plockhoy succeeded in interesting twenty-four other Mennonite families in this well planned and rather arresting scheme. On June 9, 1662, he and his associates bound themselves by contract to depart by the first sailing ship from Amsterdam to the South River. The colonists received a loan of 2,500 guilders, including the passage money, from the city of Amsterdam, which was less than half the sum they had bargained for. Women and children, however, were to be conveyed at the city's expense. In addition to the land which the settlers would own in common, each person

individually would be allowed from time to time to take up and own privately as much land as he could improve. The colonists were granted freedom from tithes and other taxes for twenty years and were authorized to govern themselves as they pleased. How pleasant was the picture!

The group settled at the Whorekill in the latter part of 1662. In July of the next year they were perhaps reinforced by the forty-one emigrants whom skipper Peter Luckassen of the *St. Jacob* left there with their baggage and farm utensils.

But the settlement was destroyed "to a very naile" by the English under Carr in 1664. What became of the settlers—and of all their courageous plans—is not known, except that thirty years later an old, blind man appeared with his wife in Germantown, where they were granted a house and lot by the Dutch founders of that town—Quakers from Krefeld. The old man's name was Pieter Cornelisz. Plock hoy.

II. EMIGRATION TO BRITISH AMERICA,

1664-1776

With the conquest of New Netherland by the English, the emigration of Hollanders to North America virtually came to an end.

Individuals, of course, continued to make their way to this continent; Governor Dongan of New York, for instance, reported on February 22, 1687, that in the past years "from Holland are come several Dutch Families." The influence of these individual emigrants was in some cases by no means negligible. J. van Beuren (1680-1775), a student of Boerhaave, came to America at the age of twenty-two. He established himself as a doctor in New York City and was made director of the first New York hospital in 1736. Until 1772, also, the Dutch Reformed Church in America received most of its ministers from the Netherlands. One of them, Theodore Frelinghuysen, a native of Lingden, Germany, came to this country in 1720 and together with Gilbert Tennent paved the way for the "Great Awakening" in the middle colonies.

These examples could undoubtedly be multiplied, but that their sum total would by any means be considerable seems unlikely.

Whatever the size of this individual emigration may have been, only two organized groups of Dutch settlers are known to have reached the American shores after the loss of New Netherland. The first of these, consisting largely of Quakers from the towns of Krefeld and Krishheim in the Rhineland, augmented by a small number of recent converts to Quakerism from various cities in the Netherlands proper, founded Germantown in the years 1683-90. Although the Quakers were in the majority, other persuasions were also represented among the early population of this settlement. The Rev. Rudolf Varick, a Dutch Reformed minister from Long

Island, tells us how, during his visit to Pennsylvania in the summer of 1690, he came "to a Dutch village, near Philadelphia. . . . This village," he says, "consists of 44 families, 28 of whom were [*sic*] Quakers; the other 16 are of the Reformed Church. . . . The Lutherans, Mennonites and Papists, all of whom are much opposed to the Quakers meet lovingly every Sunday, when a Mennonite, Dirck Keyser from Amsterdam, reads a sermon from a book by Joost Harmensen."

In origin, language, and customs all but eight or ten of the 175 original settlers were Netherlanders. Many of them, such as the Op den Graeffs and the Pannebackers, were direct descendants of Dutch Mennonites who had emigrated to Krefeld or to the Palatinate within the past hundred years. And since the influence of Dutch culture extended well into the Rhineland—in the county of Mörs, to which Krefeld belonged, the Dutch language was spoken until the latter part of the 19th century—it must not have been difficult for these people to retain their cultural identity. The ties with the Netherlands were especially close in this period, for until 1702 Mörs, like Lingem, remained a private possession of the House of Orange. These former Netherlanders from Krefeld and Krisheim, many of whom had become converted to Quakerism after William Amos first visited them in 1657, were likewise quick to respond to William Penn's call for settlers in Pennsylvania.

During his visits to the continent in 1671 and 1677 Penn had succeeded in making a number of converts to Quakerism in Holland, his mother's home country. Monthly meetings had been organized at Amsterdam and Harlingen. Now, after the acquisition of his new province, Penn made the Netherlands the center of an extensive advertising campaign with the hope of obtaining settlers from both Holland and Germany. From 1681 to 1686 there appeared five pamphlets, three of which were written by Penn himself; they were translated into Dutch and published by his friends Benjamin Furdy of Rotterdam, and Willem Sewel and Jacob Claus of Amsterdam. A fourth pamphlet was probably written by one Robert Webb, an Englishman

who claimed to have spent seven years in America. By 1685 letters from Dutch settlers in Philadelphia and Germantown also began to be printed in the Netherlands. The writers were unanimous in their praise of the country. One found "a beautiful land with a healthy atmosphere excellent fountains and springs running through it, beautiful trees from which can be obtained better firewood than the best [*precis*] of Holland. . . ."; another wrote that "farmers or husbandmen live better than lords. If a workman will only work four or five days in a week he can live grandly. The farmers here pay no tithes, nor contributions. Whatever they have is free for them alone. . . . Handicraftsmen earn here much money, together with their board and drink, which are very good. . . ." Cornelis Bom, a former baker of Haarlem, did not conceal the fact that "during the last year or two, men spent what they had saved," and that he himself had endured great hardships. "But now," he writes, "I am above many . . . and do not consider that I have less of my own than when I left Holland. . . . I have here a shop of many kinds of goods and edibles; sometimes I ride out with merchandise and sometimes bring something back, mostly from the Indians. . . . I have no servants, except one negro whom I bought. I have no rent or tax or tithes to pay. I have a cow, . . . a horse . . . , my pigs increase rapidly. . . . I have many chickens and geese, and a garden, and shall next year have an orchard. . . ."

These letters might have been written by one of Van Brahtle's or Scholte's settlers in 1847. In fact, the spirit which animated both emigrations was so much alike that Pastor Amos already anticipated the name which Scholte was to give to his colony in Iowa, when he wrote that the German-town pioneers had emigrated with the confident expectation that by fleeing there from Europe, "as it were into a second Pella," they might escape the disturbances and oppressions of their day, and lead a quiet, peaceful, godly life. What these people sought were better economic opportunities and above all freedom from the restrictions which the Old World had imposed upon them: freedom from religious oppression, to be sure, but also freedom from taxa-

tion and military service. When in the early days of the settlement Philadelphia County taxed the Dutch community, the members appealed to the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania against this taxation without representation and demanded that levies be made upon them only by their own General Court of Germantown. Such a little incident exposes clearly one of the roots of that fierce, almost medieval spirit of particularism which did so much to disrupt the first British Empire and to establish American independence.

Although the Quakers—Willem Sewel was one of them—believed vigorously that emigration for secular reasons was wrong, few should always stay where the Lord leads us," on the whole Penn found generous support for his "Holy Experiment" among the Friends in England and Holland. To them, Benjamin Furly and Jacob Telner deserved special mention, as they were instrumental in effecting the removal of the Krefeld pioneers to Germantown. Furly, an English Quaker who had settled in Rotterdam as a merchant at an early age, was Penn's chief land-agent on the continent. Through his knowledge of the Dutch language and his extensive business relations in the Rhine land, he was well equipped for this task, and succeeded in selling nearly 30,000 acres in the colony before 1700. Through him most of the Krefeld emigrants purchased their lots. The land was sold to them individually, but it was laid out in solid blocks to prevent the settlers from being scattered among the English.

Furly does not seem to have had a monopoly of the land business; however, for on August 16, 1683, three Dutch Quaker households of Krisheim (or Kriegsheim), near Worms in the Palatinate, each bought 200 acres from one Sipman, a Krefeld Quaker who did not emigrate. The three families agreed to travel with the first good wind to Pennsylvania, receive their land from Herman op den Graeff, build dwellings upon it, and pay a quitrent of two hundred dollars a year. Op den Graeff himself had purchased his land from Telner.

Jacob Telner, an Amsterdam merchant, had been con-

verted to Quakerism by Stephen Crisp perhaps as early as 1667. He had met William Penn when the latter visited Amsterdam in 1677 and had spent the next four years in America, traveling through the middle colonies on the Hudson and the Delaware. Upon his return to Europe, he became an active promoter of emigration to Pennsylvania. In June 1683 Telner accompanied the first thirteen families of emigrants from Krefeld as far as Rotterdam, where they passed into the care of Furly. And here he sold 5,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania, which he himself had bought from Penn on March 10, 1682, to Govert Remke, Lenaert Arens, Isaac Jacobs van Bebbet, and the three brothers Op den Graeff.

At Rotterdam Furly and Telner obtained passage for the Krefeld pioneers through James Claypoole, a Quaker merchant of London, who was himself going with his family on the ship *Concord*. The voyage lasted seventy-four days, but was a comfortable one. "Upon our whole voyage," wrote Herman Isaacs op den Graeff, "we did not experience as much inconvenience as between Holland and England. Our number did not decrease upon the ocean but was increased by two, a son and a daughter. . . . When the Krefelders arrived in Philadelphia on October 6, Penn and Pastorius were there to welcome them.

Telner himself crossed over with his wife and daughter in the fall of 1684. After a voyage of twelve weeks he arrived at New York. Here his zeal for Quakerism led him to disturb the services of the Dutch Reformed Church at Breuckelen and Midwout. Having promptly been ousted by the constable, "he shook his head," wrote the Rev. Hendrik Bayens, "brushed the dust from his feet, and delivered up all who were not willing to listen to his word to the evil one."

In the next year Telner removed with his family to Pennsylvania, where he became the largest landowner in Germantown.

New arrivals from Krefeld and Krisheim continued to swell the ranks of the Germantown settlers, until in 1690 the village counted about 175 inhabitants. By this time all

the Quakers from these two towns, with a very few exceptions, had moved to Pennsylvania. Though they were joined by a few Quaker families from the Netherlands, their migration failed to attract any other Dutch groups. Evidently pioneering in the wilds of America did not generally appeal to the Hollanders who were still enjoying religious freedom and fair economic opportunities at home. One can not blame the compatriots of Cornelis Bom for not waxing enthusiastic over the prospect of enduring "great difficulties and unaccustomed hardships" for a year or two, in order to find oneself not worse off than before leaving Holland.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Surinam which the Dutch acquired from the English in 1667, had to be peopled largely with foreigners, French Huguenots and German and Swiss emigrants—and this in spite of very liberal conditions of settlement.

Perhaps the high standard of living to which they had been accustomed made the Hollanders less well suited to the primitive conditions of American life than the Germans, who at this time were beginning to pour into the middle colonies. This seems to have been the opinion of Pastorius, the father of German emigration to Pennsylvania; for in 1684 he advised his parents to "send only Germans, if they wished the settlement to be a success; . . . the Hollanders (as sad experience has taught me) are not so easily satisfied, which in this new land is a very necessary quality."

Nevertheless, several of the Germantown pioneers made good. One Jan Luykens died worth £1287. Dirk Isaac op den Graeff served as the town's chief executive in 1691; his brother Abraham made a reputation for himself as a linen weaver; and both of them were among the signers of the famous Germantown petition against slavery in 1688. Reynier Jansen, a lace maker from Sneek in the province of Friesland, who had emigrated with his family in 1698, became the official printer for the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting and for the Province as well; in this latter capacity he printed the 1700 version of its laws. Another Dutch emigrant, Willem Rittinghuyzen of Arnhem, established the first paper mill in the colony.

Until 1709 Germantown remained predominantly Dutch; then the rising tide of German immigration engulfed the Dutch-speaking population and in a short time swept away all traces of the Dutch origin of the town.

The only other known attempt by Netherlanders to establish a colony in North America in the period between the fall of New Netherland and the Revolution was made by a number of followers of Jean de Labadie, who after the death of their leader in 1674 had established themselves at Wieuwerd, Friesland, on an estate of the three ladies Van Aerssen van Sommelsdyk.

Labadism was only one of the many forms in which the religious enthusiasm of the latter part of the 17th century manifested itself. The movement started as a radical development of the anti-Cartesian party within the Dutch Reformed Church. With the Quakers the Labadists had in common the supreme reliance upon the "inner light" and a strict moral code. Their church was to be a community of the elect, separated from the world by its pure teachings. At Wieuwerd the Labadists attempted to put into practice the communism of the early Christian Church. But they soon discovered that it was impossible to concentrate a large group at any one point without finding some form of remunerative employment for the members. As the community increased, therefore, it became necessary to establish daughter-churches in other localities, and this led them to consider the possibility of colonization in America.

In order to investigate conditions in New York, the Labadists at Wieuwerd sent over two of their number, Peter Sluyter and Jasper Danckaerts, who from September 10, 1679, to July 23, 1680, traveled through the middle colonies under the assumed names of P. Vorstman and J. Schippers. Here they became acquainted with Ephraim, the eldest son of Augustine Herman, a native of Prague, who had come to this country in the service of the Dutch West India Company. Herman had settled in Maryland in 1661 on a grant of land from Lord Baltimore, consisting of 24,000 acres in what is now Cecil County, Maryland, and New Castle County, Delaware.

At the invitation of Ephraim, Sluyter and Danckaerts came to New Castle (the former New Amstel) and from there visited one of his fathers estates, "Bohemia Manor" on the Elk River. Having acquired a title to part of this estate through some obscure deal (which the elder Herman in later years seems to have regretted, for he had to be forced by law to surrender the land), the two Labadists returned to Europe. They took with them a detailed account of their doings which still constitutes one of our best sources for the social history of New York State at this time.

In 1683 they returned to Maryland with a small group of fellow Labadists from Wieuwerd, and on August 11 of the next year acquired "3750 acres eastwardly from the first creek that empties into the Bohemia River from the north or northeast, to near the old St. Augustine, or Manor Church."

The Labadists in Maryland never were a very large group. At the height of its development the colony numbered slightly over a hundred men, women, and children many of whom were converts from the Dutch population of New York rather than emigrants from Holland. Neither in the home country nor in America did the Labadist experiment in communism succeed. The colonists did not remain true to their original ideals. For example, before coming to this country they had been opposed both to the cultivation of tobacco and to slavery. Soon, however, they began to grow tobacco on a large scale, and even made use of slaves for this purpose. Selfish interests broke up the community. In 1698 the "Labadie Tract" was divided. Sluyter himself ended as a wealthy landowner; and five years after his death in 1722, the Labadist colony had passed out of existence.

The process of disintegration, however, had barely set in when the English Quaker, Samuel Bowmas, visited the Labadists in the summer of 1702. In his journal he has left us an interesting description of their communal life.

... The women eat by themselves and the men by themselves having all things in common, respecting their household affairs so that none could claim any more right than another to any

part of their stock, whether in trade or husbandry; and if any had a mind to join with them whether rich or poor, they must put what they had in the common stock, and if they had a mind to leave the society they must likewise leave what they brought, and go out empty handed . . . being a very large family, in all upwards of a hundred men women and children [they] carried on something of the manufactory of linen, and had a very large plantation of corn, tobacco, flax and hemp, together with cattle of several kinds. But at my last going there [in 1728] these people were all scattered and gone, and nothing of them remaining of a religious community in that shape.

Numerically the migration of the Dutch Quakers from the field and of the Labadists from Wieuwerd was of little importance. All in all not more than 300 persons were involved. And although it is of course impossible to estimate the size of the individual emigration in this period, we may safely assume that it was a mere trickle. Those who in 1700-03 advocated the continued use of the Dutch language in the services of the Dutch Reformed Church never advanced the argument "that newcomers needed the gospel in their own tongue," says Mr. Hansen in his report on the Dutch element in the American colonies; and he reaches the conclusion that "the Dutch stock in 1790 was the product of the 17th century colonization of New Netherland."

In 1673 the town of New Orange (*i.e.* New York) reported to the States General that there were still from 6000 to 7000 Netherlanders in America. The majority of these were concentrated in Albany, New York City, and Ulster County, from where some migrated in a southwesterly direction into New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and—by 1781 as far as Kentucky. A few of these migrations are interesting to trace. When Lord Cornbury in the early 18th century attempted to foist the Anglican Church upon the Dutch in New York, many moved to New Jersey where they settled the Raritan valley. The transportation of two shiploads of identified Dutchmen from New York to St. James Island, South Carolina, in 1673 accounts for the presence in this region of such truly Dutch names as Vedder and Masyck.

On the whole, however, the Hollanders were less mobile than other racial groups. It is estimated that at the end of the colonial period there were about 100,000 people of

Dutch extractions in America. Of these, 85,000 were in New York, New Jersey, and Delaware—within the original territory of New Netherland. In none of the other states did the Dutch exceed 1500, except in Pennsylvania, where they numbered 7500.

For a century or more after the conquest of New Netherland the Dutch continued to dominate the financial, political, and social life of New York. The Dutch language remained in use in the services of the Reformed Church until 1764 in New York City, until 1782 in Albany, and as late as 1808 at Kingston. Francis Adrian van der Kemp, a refugee from Holland who came to this country in 1788, notes in his autobiography that his wife was able to converse in Dutch with Mrs. Clinton, Mrs. Tappan, and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton. And Huidekoper found in 1796 that "on Long Island, in New York, along the North River, at Albany, Schenectady etc. the low Dutch was yet in general the common language of most of the old people, and particularly of the negroes; though in New York it had begun to be superseded by the English language."

When in 1847 the first large-scale emigration of Netherlanders to America set in, the newcomers found a devoted friend and helper in a descendant of one of the early settlers at Rensselaerswyck, the Rev. Isaac N. Wyckoff, pastor of the Second Reformed Dutch Church in Albany. As a child in New Jersey Wyckoff had not learned the English language until he went to grade school, and it is said that he continued to speak his native Dutch tongue "with accuracy and pleasure to the end of his life."

Thus the oldest Dutch tradition in America was still sufficiently alive to welcome the founders of the new settlements in Michigan and Iowa.

III. REVOLUTIONARY INTERLUDE: CAPITALISTS AND PATRIOTS, 1776-1815

As long as the colonies remained part of the British Empire, the Dutch nation had little opportunity to participate directly in trade with North America. True to mercantilist doctrine, England reserved all imports and most of the exports to and from her colonies for herself.

Nevertheless there were some contacts even in colonial times. Many of the American re-exports from England went to Rotterdam, which also served as the main port of emigration for German emigrants to Pennsylvania. Of the 400 immigrant ships which entered the harbor of Philadelphia between 1727 and 1775, 253 came from Rotterdam.

The Dutch possessions in the West Indies and on the African Gold Coast received their due share of the three-cornered trade in provisions, rum, slaves, and sugar upon which the prosperity of New England so largely rested. And between Amsterdam and New York a clandestine trade in tea, canvas, gunpowder, arms for the Indians, and linen was carried on with such success as to "almost totally discourage the importation of these commodities from Great Britain," Governor Hardy reported in 1757.

Even as early as 1720, Charles Crommelin, son of a French Huguenot who had emigrated to America *via* the Netherlands, is said to have founded a Holland Trading Company "which for years conducted an extensive and lucrative business between Amsterdam and New York." In later years the Amsterdam banker Jean de Neufville figured prominently in this underhanded Dutch-American trade.

It is not surprising then to find that in the business

world also a few personal ties already existed between the two countries prior to 1776. A sister of Daniel Crommelin of Amsterdam had married into the Verplanck family, which had come to New Netherland in the days of Stuyvesant. Ever since, young Verplancks had received their business training at Amsterdam. There too went Daniel Ludlow, likewise related to the Crommelins, and Herman Le Roy, whose father Jacob—a native of Rotterdam—had come to New York in the middle of the 18th century. Among the friends of Governor Trumbull of Connecticut we find after 1772 the distiller Gossinus van Erkelens, whom the Rev. John H. Livingston while a student at the University of Utrecht had persuaded to come to America. And in South Carolina two former Netherlanders, Pieter Le Poole, son of a well-known Leyden family, and Alexander Gillon of Rotterdam, had become men of consequence.

The repudiation by Congress of the English Acts of Trade and Navigation on April 6, 1776, and the subsequent Declaration of Independence, however, started a new period in Dutch-American relations. The latter document was hardly five months old when the governor of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius in the Caribbean paid his respects to the flag of the new sister republic. Six years later the States General officially recognized John Adams as U.S. minister to the Netherlands and entered into a treaty of trade and friendship with the young nation across the Atlantic.

If the two republics had thus found each other before the Revolutionary War was over, it had not been primarily from sentimental considerations. In Holland the interest in American affairs was from the outset predominant in commercial. The Dutch carrying trade was no longer what it had been in the 17th century. The Hollanders were gradually being eliminated as the middle men in the trade between northern and southern Europe. By making Holland the chief market on the European continent for American products, especially tobacco and rice, many hoped to recapture some of the lost prosperity of former days. Dutch industry, too, had suffered greatly from the protective bar-

riers set up in surrounding countries, and hailed the opening of the American market with all the greater enthusiasm, since it believed that here the threat of English competition had once and for all been removed.

As early as 1775 Dutch merchants—mostly from Amsterdam, which was not so deeply involved in trade with England as was the sister port of Rotterdam—had been in contact with the rebels in the colonies, supplying them with all they needed for the prosecution of their war. Until 1778 the center of this brisk trade in contraband was St. Eustatius.

For the time being, this was as far as the Dutch could be expected to go in their aid to the Americans. In view of the Republic's complete lack of military preparedness and the confused state of Dutch politics, it seemed imperative not to risk a war with England. Nevertheless the leading Amsterdam merchants were so anxious to make sure of their future position in the trade with America that immediately after the recognition of American Independence by France, they persuaded the city magistrates to start negotiations with a representative of Congress over a secret treaty of trade and friendship which was to become operative as soon as the States General would recognize the independence of the United States. Accordingly on September 4, 1778, a plan for a treaty was drafted at Aix la Chapelle by Jean de Neuville and William Lee. Unfortunately a copy of the plan was among the papers of Henry Laurens when he was captured by the English off Newfoundland on September 10, 1780. England immediately seized upon this pretext to declare war upon the United Provinces before the latter could join in the League of Armed Neutrality and thereby gain the support of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.

Although the Dutch Republic and the United States were now united in a war against a common enemy, it was not until almost two years later, on September 17, 1782, that a formal treaty of trade and friendship was concluded between the two countries. This was followed immediately by a small-scale emigration of Dutch business men and diplomats. Two young merchants from the office of Jean

de Neufville, Leertouwer and Huyman, settled in Boston at the end of 1782. Early in the same year another Amsterdammer, J. G. Koch, had gone to Philadelphia where he was later joined by one Kunckel, likewise from Amsterdam, and J. H. C. Heineken, son of a minister at Elburg. In Baltimore we find two Hollanders, Adriaan Valck of Rotterdam and still another merchant from Amsterdam named Backer. Reynier Jan van den Broek, later a notary public in New York City, and one Van Heek from Enschede should also be mentioned among these early pioneers of Dutch trade in America.

On the very day that the United States ratified the new Dutch-American treaty, Pieter Johan van Berckel sailed to take over his post as the first Netherlands minister to this country; in the following year, 1784, consuls were appointed. Among those who received commissions were Heineken, Valck, Leertouwer, and the second-generation American Herman Le Roy. Jan Boonen Graves, who was still in the Netherlands at the time of his appointment, was made consul to Charleston, where there were already two Hollanders, W. H. van Hasselt and Van Braam Houckgeest. Van Hasselt had made the first known attempt in the Netherlands at raising silkworms on his estate near Voorst. He continued his experiments at Charleston, but apparently failed.

André Everard van Braam Houckgeest was born in 1739 in the province of Utrecht. Before coming to America he had served in the Dutch navy and had been to China as a supercargo for the Dutch East India Company, living at Macao and Canton until 1773 when he returned to the Netherlands. During the Revolution Van Braam evinced an interest in the American cause by writing a letter to Franklin to apply for the appointment in the Revolutionary army of three young Dutch lieutenants. In 1783 he decided to become a merchant and rice planter at Charleston. After five years, however, business reverses and the loss of four of his children led him to reënter the service of the East India Company as its commercial director at Canton. In this capacity he went on an embassy to the emperor in

Peking in 1794, his account of which was published three years later in Philadelphia and earned its author a membership in the American Philosophical Society. In 1796 Van Braam returned to the United States and retired to his country estate "China Retreat" in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Here, surrounded by his Chinese collections and waited upon by Chinese servants, he entertained many French émigrés, among them Talleyrand. After two years, though, Van Braam advertised "China Retreat" for sale and in 1801 returned to Amsterdam where he died in the same year.

Numerically this emigration of business men in 1783⁴ was insignificant. Even in later years we encounter only a few new names among the representatives of Dutch trade in the United States, such as the stockbrokers Matthæus Huijzinga Messcher of Philadelphia, later of Alexandria, Virginia, and H. A. C. Coster and C. L. Cammann of New York City; also J. C. van den Heuvel, former governor of Demerary and Essequibo on the coast of Guyana. The hopes of the Dutch merchants that Amsterdam would succeed London as the European center of the American trade did not materialize. The products of Dutch industry, perhaps with the exception of Schiedam gin, did not suit the taste or the convenience of the American public, accustomed as it was to English weights and measures. Neither was the Dutch merchant willing to give the long-term credit which had been customary in the trade between the colonies and the mother country. The result was that England rapidly reconquered the commercial terrain which she had lost. In 1785 James Madison admitted that "our trade was never more completely monopolized by Great Britain when it was under the direction of Parliament, than it is at this moment."⁵

Nearly all the emigrants of 1783 were men of means. There is some evidence, however, of interest in emigration to America also among the humbler people in the Netherlands. Jan Wijnsouw, a schoolteacher from The Hague,

⁴For a different view, see A. L. Kohlmeier, *The Commerce between the United States and the Netherlands*.

one Damme, a veterinarian from Vlissingen, and the glassblower Jan Hufke all spoke to John Adams in 1781-2 of going to the United States.

Immediately after the peace of 1783 European observers were greatly concerned over a large emigration to America. In Denmark the king found it necessary to publish a decree forbidding under heavy penalties any person to leave the Danish dominions without license. Unfortunately there are no adequate data about the Dutch departures in this period. Occasionally we do hear of the presence of Dutch artisans in the United States, but nothing seems to suggest that there was a general exodus. At Savannah one Lang, a millwright and blacksmith from Rotterdam, settled about 1790, and a few others of the same profession are said to have been brought over there by a Georgian planter. Pieter Gans, a florist from Haarlem, was living near Philadelphia in 1793, and in 1807 Stephen Girard of that city obtained a gardener from Holland, Hendrik Koert by name. There may have been some Netherlands among the glassblowers recruited for Boston at Amsterdam in 1792, but this has been impossible to determine.

When to the above list of tradespeople and businessmen one adds the small number of those who came in connection with Dutch speculation in American lands and a few political refugees, the roster of emigrants from Holland for this period is complete.

For the origin of the speculative interest in American lands among Dutch capitalists one has to go back to the early days of the Revolution, when the colonies depended largely upon Dutch merchants to supply their need for war materials. The bulk of this trade centered, as we have seen in St. Eustatius. As early as May 21, 1776, however, the French *chargé d'affaires* at The Hague, the abbé Desnoyers, wrote home that the Americans had obtained a good engineer directly from Holland and seemed to have a very regular intercourse with Amsterdam. Three years later John Paul Jones was sent to the Netherlands to provide a safe escort for the *Indien*, a frigate of forty-four pieces, built at Amsterdam for the account of the American government. A

time wore on the direct relations between Amsterdam and the United States increased. The trade with St. Eustatius had been on a cash basis, but it was not long until the cash of the colonists began to give out. Under these circumstances they naturally turned to Amsterdam, then still the money market of the world. Soon a host of American agents appeared in the Netherlands, all of whom attempted to float loans for their respective colonies. Only when the States General had officially recognized American Independence, however, were the bankers of Amsterdam willing to invest their money in loans to the new republic. And so it was not until June 1782 that Adams succeeded in obtaining the first loan for Congress (5,000,000 guilders) from the three Amsterdam houses of Van Staphorst, Willink, and De la Lande and Fijnje.

Once the precedent had been established, other loans followed, representing a total of 30,000,000 guilders in twelve years.* And this was only a beginning. From America's foreign debt the Amsterdam bankers turned to speculate on her internal one, both that of the Confederation and that of the individual states. Not content with this, they soon bought shares in banks, manufacturing societies and canal companies. To investigate the possibilities of profitable investment, the four houses of Van Staphorst, Stadnitski, Van Eeghen, and Ten Cate and Vollenhoven even went to the expense of maintaining a special agent (with a salary of 8,000 guilders annually) in the United States after 1789, in the person of Théophile Cazenove.

As early as August 1790 Cazenove had mentioned the possibility of starting a maple sugar industry in America. And in June of the following year, Gerrit Boon was sent over to purchase a tract of land for that purpose. In 1792 he acquired 29,027 acres on the West Canada Creek, a tributary of the Mohawk, and made a beginning with the tapping of sugar. He himself settled at the confluence of the Cincinnati and Steuben Creeks, on the site of the later Oldenbarneveld. Because of many technical difficulties the

*Details concerning these loans in Van Winter's *Aandael*, vol. 2, Bijlage V, pp. 476-7.

experiment with the sugar industry was abandoned in 1794 but Boon remained to manage the sale of land to prospective settlers.

In the meantime war had broken out in Europe, and in November 1792 the French under Dumouriez occupied all of Belgium, thus bringing the war to the doorstep of the Dutch Republic. "Perceiving great troubles about to come upon [their] country," the Amsterdam capitalists decided "to place a part at least of [their] property beyond the vicissitudes of civil dissensions [*sic*] and revolutionary governments." In search of a safe, long-term investment for their money, they turned to American lands, having been thus advised by their representative in the United States.

In the fall of 1792, therefore, a group of six Amsterdam bankers, consisting of the four principals of Cazenove together with Willem Willink and Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck, acquired extensive landed property in Pennsylvania and in western and central New York. Upon security of this land the "Club of Six," which in the United States became known as the Holland Land Company, offered shares for sale to the Dutch public.

The Amsterdam financiers never actually promoted the emigration of their countrymen to these American possessions. Yet almost all of the few Netherlanders of whose presence in the United States we hear in this period, were in one way or another connected with the Holland Land Company. Cazenove frequently mentions the names of protégés of one or another of his principals, men who turned to him for a job or financial assistance. Such were one Wijtgaat, whom he set up in business in Philadelphia; one Van den Ende, for whom he found a job in the office of Le Roy; and one Engelman, whom he helped with a loan of \$800. It was of course impossible to find employment for all, as we see in the cases of K. W. van Huevell, a winetrader who became at length a doctor in Schenectady, and of two painters and glaziers named Beaugriet and Lingstra.

A number of Hollanders—Abraham Peper, J. Buttin, Simon Didama, Hendrik de Clercq—settled as farmers on

the lands of the Company, but with the exception of De Clercq they were unsuccessful. When Harm Jan Huidekoper, who himself had left Holland with the intention of becoming a farmer in America, saw his friend De Clercq's farm covered with stumps and learned that it had taken about \$4,000 to make this farm what it was, he promptly abandoned his former plan and became a secretary to John Lincklaen, one of the agents of the Holland Land Company.



*Francis Adrian van der Kemp, during his imprisonment at Utrecht in 1787.
Courtesy of the New York Historical Society.*

likewise most of the fifteen members of the little Dutch community at Oldenbarneveld (later Trenton, now Barneveld) depended upon the Company for their livelihood.

Among these were also some political refugees who were forced to leave Holland after the ill-starred revolution of 1787. Although most of the defeated democrats, or "Patriots," fled to France, a few made their way to the United States. David Holswilder sailed for America on September 4, 1788; R. G. van Polanen, a native of Rotterdam and a student at Harderwyk in 1785, came to New York *via* Switzerland in 1791 and was made minister of the Bavarian Republic to the United States in 1796.

But the most interesting of these political refugees was undoubtedly Francis Adrian van der Kemp, minister of a Mennonite congregation at Leyden. A dissenter in politics as well as in religion, Van der Kemp had taken an active part in the revolution of 1787, which aimed at reducing both the influence of the Stadtholder and of the ruling families in the cities, and at instituting a form of government more nearly representative of the interests of the rising middle class.

In spite of his Mennonite faith, Van der Kemp had commanded a group of armed Patriots at Wijk bij Duurstede against the troops of the Prince of Orange, but he was forced to surrender and was held a prisoner of state at Amersfoort for twenty-four weeks. After his release on December 9 Van der Kemp, not daring to return to Holland, left the territory of the Republic and went to Antwerp. Already in the previous year he had written to John Adams inquiring if one could "live honestly with ease, dignity, and reputation, on a property of fl. 16000 or fl. 17000 in America." At that time, however, his wife could not yet bring herself to seek asylum in the new world, and Van der Kemp yielded to her wish. But now after his escape, the die was cast. In another letter to Adams on December 29, 1787, Van der Kemp wrote:

"... America, the object of my most ardent desires, will be our goal if we can live frugally in the country, and if your Excellency will deign to honour me with letters. . . . If out of the ruins of my fortune I can succeed in supporting my family near Albany or in the State of New York, it will be the fulfilment of all my wishes, I expect my wife with our two children and a

servant, so soon as she shall have sold my effects, and I hope to sail for America in March next."

The maidservant could not obtain permission from her parents to follow her master to America and had to be left behind at Antwerp, but the rest of the family set sail from Havre de Grace on March 25, 1788, arriving safely at New York on May 4. The captain of the American frigate *Henriette*, Benjamin Weeks, did everything in his power to please his passengers, and even hired a Low Dutch cabin boy from Lubeck for Mrs. Van der Kemp, since she did not understand a word of English. Upon his arrival in the New World, Van der Kemp, who had letters of introduction from the Marquis de Lafayette, was kindly received by several distinguished Americans, among them Washington.

Aspiring to the life of a country gentleman, Van der Kemp bought an estate in Ulster County for £1,100 in August 1789, following his naturalization with wife and children on February 26 of that year. As a farmer, however, he was not successful; and in 1794 financial difficulties drove him to settle in the neighborhood of Lake Oneida where in addition to carving himself a new estate, "Kemp-wijk," out of the wilderness, he served as an Assistant Justice of the Peace and attempted to organize a Society of Agriculture for Western New York.

After three years of successful pioneering, Van der Kemp also gave up Kempwijk, this time for the sake of his wife, who was unable to adjust herself to frontier conditions. He moved to Oldenbarneveld in order that she might enjoy the companionship of the other Netherlanders settled there: Mr. Boon, the manager of the settlement; a clerk named Smits; Harm Jan Huidekoper; and above all Adam Gerard Mappa with his family, his sister M. A. Mappa, and his sister-in-law and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. G. H. C. Zahn.

Like Van der Kemp, Mappa—a native of Delft—had been an ardent democrat, had commanded a force of Patriot militia in the summer of 1787, and after the suppression of the revolution had shared the exile of hundreds of Patriot leaders at St. Omer in French Flanders. After two

years, however, he decided to go to America and arrived with his family at New York on December 1, 1789. Upon the advice of Jefferson, Mappa had brought with him a complete letter foundry, including the first oriental type ever set up in this country. In the beginning the prospects of success with the type foundry seemed good, but as early as January 1791 Mrs. Mappa complained of the lack of skilled labor. Three years later Mappa advertised his business for sale and entered the service of the Holland Land Company at Oldenbarneveld, where he succeeded Boon as manager after the latter returned to Holland in 1798.

In a letter of September 1820, originally written to the editor of the *New York Statesman*, Governor Clinton describes how he met Van der Kemp and Mappa, "two venerable men . . . angling for trout, in a copious and pellucid stream." Pleasantly surprised to find that they were "men of the world, perfectly acquainted with the courtesies of life," he did not hesitate to accept their invitation to dinner, an experience of which he gives a glowing account.

... we arrived in a short time at a small village, and on ascending the steps of an elegant house, I was congratulated by my new friends on my entry into Oldenbarneveld. In the course of an hour dinner was served . . . I sat down and enjoyed a treat worthy to be compared to the Symposium[n] of Plato. . . . The elder of these gentlemen had received the best education which Holland could afford. . . . I was penetrated with the most profound respect, when I witnessed the various and extensive acquirements of this man. He is a perfect master of all the Greek and Roman authors—skilled in Hebrew, the Syriac, and the other oriental languages—with the German and French he is perfectly acquainted—His mind is a great and inexhaustible store-house of knowledge; and I could perceive no deficiency except in his not being perfectly acquainted with the modern discoveries in natural science, which arises in a great degree from his sequestered life. He manages an extensive correspondence with many learned men in Europe, as well as America. . . . Thus . . . in a secluded, unassuming village, I have discovered the most learned man in America, cultivating, like our first parent, his beautiful and spacious garden with his own hands—cultivating literature and science—cultivating the virtues which adorn the fireside and the altar . . . and blessing with the radiations of his illumined and highly gifted mind all who enjoy his conversation, and who are honored by his correspondence.

John Adams, less exuberant but no less just in his admiration of Van der Kemp's scholarly attainments, called him a "star of the first magnitude under a deep cloud." Even though in later years this cloud would occasionally lift—from Harvard came an honorary doctor's degree, and Governor Clinton invited him to translate the records of the Dutch West India Company—in general we shall have to concur in Adam's judgment.

For that matter, the whole community at Oldenbarneveld remained under a cloud. Not invigorated by fresh arrivals from the Netherlands, it gradually died a natural death. Huidekoper left in 1802 for Pennsylvania, where in later years he founded the Meadville School for Unitarians. In 1828 both Mappa and Mrs. van der Kemp died; Van der Kemp followed in the next year. His daughter, who survived with her brothers, remained in Oldenbarneveld until her death in 1868, "the last of the exiles, who came from Holland so long before."

The businessmen and tradespeople who crossed over in 1782 and in the following years, the Holland Land Company, the exiles of 1787—all left but few Dutch traces in America. The emigration of Netherlanders in this period remained only an interlude.

IV. BACKGROUNDS OF THE GREAT MIGRATION

Among the illustrious victims of the French Revolution which the Congress of Vienna did not restore was the old Dutch Republic. It shared this fate with the Italian republics of Genoa and Venice. Only in Switzerland and in the newly created city state of Gracow—a product of the rivalry between the surrounding big powers—did the republican form of government survive the European settlement of 1815.

This result is not at all surprising, for in an assembly of princes such as the one at Vienna, hardly anyone could have been expected to press the claims of a republic. Even matters of nationality were likely to be disregarded when kings undertook to restore the balance of power in Europe. The Dutch people were therefore very fortunate in having for a champion of their national independence a scion of one of the most respected dynasties of Europe. Under the circumstances, the proclamation on December 1, 1813, of Prince William Frederick of Orange, son of the late Stadtholder, as *Sovereign Prince of the United Netherlands* served to guarantee the future existence of Holland as a separate nation.

In the hour of a national crisis Netherlands have always turned to the House of Orange for relief. Thus it happened during the revolt against Spain in 1572 and again in the wars with France in 1672 and 1747. The appeal of 1813, however, differed from those on former occasions in that it went out from the upper classes rather than from the people at large. The destruction of the privileges of the cities and provinces and the creation of a unified national state after 1795 had removed the chief cause for the age-old antagonism between the Stadtholders and the local ruling

families. Likewise the experiences during the period of French domination had healed the rift between these old regent families and the rising middle class, whose demands for a share in the government of the Republic had culminated in the abortive revolution of 1787. Eight years later the exiled Patriots had realized their aims with the aid of the French arms, but before long, as in France itself, many a former democrat became an admirer of one-man rule, and in the end joined with his ancient patrician adversaries in supporting a national kingdom under the House of Orange.

This alliance of Orange and the upper classes was to dominate the political, economic, and cultural life of the nation for the next quarter century. In effect the new constitution of 1814 concentrated power in the hands of the Sovereign Prince—after the union with Belgium in 1815, the King—who in turn restored to the nobility some of the feudal rights abolished in 1795 and reserved for them one-fourth of the seats in the new States General. The latter were chosen by the Provincial Estates, representing the nobility, the cities, and the country.

The middle class, stunned by the blows which commerce and the allied industries had suffered during the Napoleonic wars, meekly acquiesced. It seemed as if the spirit of enterprise which had once characterized the Dutch people had vanished completely. Dutch capital gladly turned the task of developing the nation's resources over to the king, who to encourage trade and industry left no expedient of mercantilism untried. In the economic field this enlightened despotism of William I justified itself, as a matter of fact, by some notable success.

On the other hand, the worst features of the system became apparent in the religious policy of the government, and here the king met with the first popular opposition in the northern Netherlands. The principle of the separation of Church and State, first enunciated in 1796, was retained, though not without a struggle, in the constitution of 1814, which provided equal protection to all existing religious denominations.

But the churches were soon to find out that protection

by a king who tried to follow in the footsteps of Joseph II and Napoleon amounted actually to a protectorate of the State over the Church. By royal decree of January 7, 1816, the ancient democratic constitution of the Calvinist church in the Netherlands was changed. The new *reglement* gave the king a hand in the composition of classical and provincial boards; the synod, made up of representatives from all the provinces, became a mere tool in the hands of the minister of worship; even the name of the organization was changed from *Gereformeerde to Hervormde Kerk*.

These measures, which had been inspired also by a fear of the revival of religious dissensions, met with little opposition from the church leaders themselves. Here again the alliance of Orange and the upper classes asserted itself. The old dogmatical differences between the orthodox clergy and the liberal patricians had disappeared during the Age of Reason. By 1795 all the regents had become members of the Reformed Church, but their ancient Arminianism triumphed in the rationalistic supranaturalism which now characterized the thinking of the leading ministers. The general indifference in matters of dogma among the well educated produced a spirit of broad tolerance toward anything but orthodoxy itself, and raised the hopes of many for a reunion of all the Protestant sects into one church or organization. This seemed especially desirable since, after the political union with Belgium, Protestantism remained the religion of only a minority of the population of the United Kingdom.

It was not long until this spiritual tutelage of the nation by the upper classes called forth a sharp reaction from the common people, among whom there were still many adherents of orthodox Calvinism. As early as 1816 the congregation at Axel seceded under the lay evangelist Vijgeboom and formed a "restored church of Christ," but the movement remained local. Eleven years later a minister at The Hague openly attacked the relaxation of the dogmatical requirements for admission to the ministry under the new church order of 1816. His protest, however, was quickly silenced by the authorities.

The introduction of the so-called evangelical songs to supplement the psalms in the church services also was a continual thorn in the flesh of the strict Calvinists. Finally in 1834 Hendrik de Cock, minister at Ulrum in the province of Groningen, who himself had been "converted" only a few years earlier—partly through conversations with his own parishioners—seceded publicly with his entire congregation after he had been suspended from the ministry for baptizing children from neighboring congregations. His example was followed in the same year by Ds. Hendrik Peter Scholte of Doeveren, North Brabant.

As a youth at Amsterdam Scholte had become acquainted with Isaac da Costa, the chief representative of the Protestant revival in the Netherlands, which originated partly in the teaching of Willem Bilderdijk, Holland's outstanding romantic poet at Leyden, and partly in the older religious "awakening" at Geneva, where many had already seceded from the national church of Switzerland by 1817. Later as a student of theology at Leyden Scholte himself became the center of a religious group known as "Scholte's Club," the members of which now joined in the secession of 1834. Thus the movement spread rapidly throughout the northern Netherlands.

Other factors also contributed to this swift success. The Belgian revolution in 1830 had disrupted economic life in the North, and the refusal of the king to comply with the conditions for separation drawn up by the big European powers only made matters worse. A large standing army had to be maintained and the continued threat of a resumption of hostilities had a laming effect upon Dutch commerce. Almost simultaneously a cholera epidemic broke out, carrying thousands to their graves. Under these circumstances many turned away from the rationalistic optimism of earlier days. Among these was Albertus van Raalte, whose decision to enter the ministry was inspired by the experiences of the cholera year, 1832. His orthodoxy was soon to bring him into conflict with the church authorities, who by their refusal to admit him to the pastorate practically forced him to join the Seceders.

The church secession of 1834 was only one form in which the general spirit of dissatisfaction with existing conditions and institutions expressed itself. By 1830 the fear of political and social change which had inspired the settlement of 1815 had largely abated. "Only very old people," says Professor Becker, "could remember the French Revolution . . . and to the men and women under thirty, . . . even the Napoleonic wars were things they had heard of rather than experienced." Once again men began to prize liberty more than life. All over Europe during the thirties the new spirit stirred as liberalism, nationalism, ultramontaniam, and socialism in the French, Belgian, Italian, and Polish revolutions, in the agitation for electoral reform in England, in the Protestant and Catholic revivals, and among the followers of Owen, Saint Simon, Proudhon, and Fourier.

In the Netherlands, too, the "era of good feeling" neared its end. As the economic condition of the country grew worse, the middle class became increasingly critical of the government and aired its complaint in pamphlets and in liberal newspapers such as the *Amhemsche Courant* and in Roman Catholic emancipation had its champion in Joachim George le Sage ten Broek, the editor of the *Catholische Nederlandsche Stemmen*; and the founding of the *Gids* by Poigeriet in 1837 inaugurated a new era in literary criticism.

Unfortunately, as elsewhere, the Dutch government did not understand the signs of the time. Born in 1772, King William I was one of those few "very old people" who remembered the French Revolution only too well. The Seceders of 1834 were the first victims of this long memory. Firmly determined to maintain the authority of the state in church matters, the king started an active persecution of these Seceders when the latter rejected the terms upon which he had declared himself willing to recognize their organization. Meetings were broken up, ministers were fined and imprisoned, and soldiers were quartered upon members of the rebellious congregations. To give an appearance of legality to these inflictions, the government invoked articles

291 and 294 of the penal code which the Kingdom of the Netherlands had inherited from Napoleon. These articles forbade the formation of groups of more than twenty persons for religious, literary, or political purposes without previous authorization by the government. The clause in the constitution which granted freedom of worship to all *existing* religious denominations did not apply to the Seceders—thus the government reasoned—because they were a *new* organization.

Of course the persecutions failed to bring the Seceders back to the fold. On the other hand the fines proved an especially hard burden for the majority, who were people of only small means. By 1838, therefore, both sides were ready to compromise. Scholte was the first to accept the king's conditions, and others followed. But the government occasionally refused to recognize congregations whom it considered unable to take care of their poor. Thus in certain cases the persecution continued until 1846. The worst features, however, such as the use of the military, had disappeared after the abdication of William I in 1840; and by 1848, when the new liberal constitution was adopted, there was no longer any possibility of such discrimination.

By the time that the main emigration from the Netherlands to the United States set in, the religious situation had therefore improved greatly. Scholte himself did not consider the "present obstruction of worship and religious education a valid reason for leaving the fatherland," and he denied that those of his coreligionists who had already departed had been actuated primarily by such motives. To be sure, this was before the last persecution of a congregation of Seceders took place at Baambrug in 1846. But other sources tend to confirm Scholte's opinion. According to the statistics which the Dutch government published in the *Staatsrekening* on September 5, 1848, of the 2334 heads of families and single persons emigrating in 1847—the top year of the Dutch migration—only 439 listed a desire for greater freedom of worship among their reasons for leaving the country. Of these, not more than 149 declared that they emigrated exclusively from religious considerations. Nei-

they were the Seceders the only ones to leave; in fact, they constituted but a minority. Of those who left in 1847, 1189 belonged to the *Herriomde* Kerk; 653 were Seceders; and 452, Roman Catholics. For the period from 1831 to 1856 inclusive, these figures were as follows: 4518 *Herriomde*; 1337 Seceders; and 1806 Roman Catholics.

As the *Edinburgh Review* remarked in an article on the Irish crisis in January 1848, "the emigrants generally belonged to that class of smallholders who, being somewhat above the level of the prevailing destitution, had sufficient resources left to enable them . . . to effect their removal to a foreign land." In the Netherlands the majority of those who left were likewise recruited from among the lower middle class. In 1847 the "people of small means numbered 1513, as compared with 295 well-to-do, and 497 poor. It is interesting to note that hardly any Seceders belonged in this last category. As elsewhere in Europe, the emigrants were mostly agricultural workers and artisans. Thus there departed in 1847 such country folk as these: 503 farmers, 382 laborers, 70 day-laborers, 65 farmhands, 36 menservants, and 49 maids; further there were 144 carpenters, 91 tailors, 73 weavers, 51 bakers, 45 shoemakers, 38 storekeepers, 33 smiths, and other artisans.

These figures in themselves suggest that the causes of the large migration of the late forties and early fifties were mainly economic. When the anonymous writer of the article on "Emigration to North America" in *Onze Eeuw* (1849) remarked that with most people "dissatisfaction with their lot seemed to be the real, though not the acknowledged motive," he forgot to mention that very many at that time had every reason to be dissatisfied with their lot. The high landrents, especially in agricultural sections of the country, reduced the savings of the smallholder to the point where he was no longer able to provide his generally numerous brood with adequate farms of their own. Also, if the eldest son wished to prevent the fragmentation of the paternal domain, he had not only to buy out his brothers and sisters, but to pay a State fee—the so-called right of *soulle*. The scalerights on the importation of for-

eign grain—designed to protect the Dutch farmer against Russian competition—and the high imposts on flour and meat rendered large groups of the population wholly dependent upon the potato for food. The failure of the potato crop in 1845 and 1846, therefore, was a major disaster in Holland as well as in Ireland and western Germany.

In various places food riots broke out which had to be suppressed by force. The dislocation which the potato disease caused in the economic life of regions such as the Betuwe, where potatoes had become the main crop, has been well described by the Rev. O. G. Heldring, who as a minister at Hemmen was thoroughly familiar with local conditions. Apparently during harvest time every village used to have its potato fair.

... Every other night accounts are settled. Then all outstanding debts are paid. He who has paid, again has credit with the storekeeper and the landlord, and for an entire year receives all he needs on the security of next year's harvest. The potato crop straightens out everything. So it had been for years in the lowlands. Then came the potato disease. From that moment on the system of cultivation changed. The owner now sows his lands himself, and the laborer is out of work and does no longer know what to do. Village after village now has too many people and among them are a great number of reputable persons who know their jobs.

Industry was as yet unable to absorb the hands that were thus released, for in spite of the old king's efforts, the industrialization of the country had made but slight progress. In the crafts, furthermore, a "corrupting competition" prevailed.

... If a shoemaker, baker, storekeeper anywhere is doing fairly well [says Heldring] others rush in and drag him down on every hand, because they undersell. Thus his living dwindles away . . . I knew one of our Christians who could just barely earn his bread as a cooper, until his neighborhood rival left for . . . [Surinam]; then he and still another got some breathing space, for the cooper who had left was the cheapest, and besides he was frequently given alms on account of his poverty; hence he need not charge so much and spoiled the honest livelihood of his fellows by his low prices.

As the unemployed increased in number, so did the public charges. It is estimated that in 1850, 27 per cent of

the population was on relief, as compared with 13 per cent in 1841. The corresponding rise in the poor rates caused considerable anxiety among the well-to-do, such as the Frisian farmer Worp van Peyma, who emigrated in 1849 and settled near Lancaster, New York, ten miles east of Buffalo. In a letter written in 1845 to his friend Eeckhoff at Leeuwarden, Van Peyma complained of the "heavy and disproportionate tax for the support and assistance of the poor, whose number has increased amazingly and is still increasing."

Meanwhile the ordinary taxation was already a burden. On property evaluated at 50,000 guilders, the owner paid an annual tax of 2,200 guilders. The imposts on the prime necessities of life—the excise on flour, meat, fuel—which are said to have absorbed one tenth of the national income, naturally fell hardest on the people of small means.

Many were also annoyed at "the manner of tax raising, and the importunity of the excise men, and the unbearable surveillance, which constantly pesters people in certain trades, and denies them every vestige of freedom even in their own homes."

It is quite natural that among the mystically inclined Seceders several should have believed that these portents indicated that the world was coming to an end. People sought a place where "through cultivation of the earth they might earn their temporal subsistence for the rescue of this generation from the miseries of a collapsing society," wrote Brummelkamp and Van Raalte in the letter which they sent in 1846 "to the faithful in the United States of North America."

The articles on "The Potato Disease in Connection with the Signs of the Times" and "Nations Before the Judgment Bar" in Scholte's magazine *De Reformatie* breathe a similar spirit. Again in 1849 Ds. Van der Meulen, the leader of the group which had founded Zeeland, Michigan, explained:

... My reasons, why I left the Netherlands, have not been to become great and wealthy in America. No, but because it seemed clear to me that church and state tottered toward their ruin,

and God in His Providence opened an avenue of escape. Fearing the impending doom, I took a step in God's strength, over which I rejoice until this day and for which I daily thank the Lord.

Thus psychological factors also entered into the decision to emigrate.

The example of others—especially that of the German emigrants, who during the critical years drifted down the Rhine in great numbers toward their port of embarkation proved contagious. The editor of the *Amsterdamsche Courant*, Simon Vissering, even went so far as to call the emigration of 1847 an "epidemic"; with a modern term we might speak of it as a "mass psychosis."

To distinguish clearly between material and spiritual causes of the movement is therefore impossible, for the emphasis changed with the individual case. With the majority of emigrants, actual or anticipated suffering—from famine, unemployment, cut-throat competition, excessive and unevenly distributed taxation, and fragmentation of small estates—may have been the chief consideration. But others, as we have seen, were actuated primarily by the apocalyptic fears which their mystical religious beliefs inspired. Or they shared in the general desire for greater freedom—freedom of worship and education, as well as freedom from oppressive supervision and compulsory military service. (As an heritage of the Napoleonic regime, conscription was very unpopular in Holland, especially among the poorer classes, who could not afford to provide substitutes.) Still others wished for greater political and social equality. K. Jzn. Henkema, an energetic and well-educated farmer from the province of Groningen, who settled near Lafayette, Indiana, in 1835, declared three years later that he had left his homeland in order that his children might be well provided for "in a country where civilian life is more secure and the rights of man are taken seriously and put into practice." Newly arrived emigrants were pleasantly surprised by the absence of a rigid system of social classes in America. "The poor here are worth as much as the rich, one need not raise one's hat to anybody. Rich people honor us, because we

work for them," wrote J. A. Buekenhorst in a letter published by Brummelkamp and Van Raalte.

This opportunity which America offered to Europe's underprivileged classes to "rise out of the situation into which they had been born" was perhaps the strongest of all incentives to emigration. The great number of those who declared that they were leaving "because of a desire to improve their social status, their means of livelihood and their fortune"—in the period from 1831 through 1856 they constituted more than 62 per cent of the total—seems to bear this out.

By proclaiming that men were born free and equal and by doing away with certain forms of the old order, such as the craft guilds, the French Revolution had demolished the traditional class system without however destroying class consciousness itself. As money and all that money could buy, rather than birth, now determined the place of the individual in society, the lower orders, no longer restrained by sumptuary laws, scrambled to mount the social ladder by adopting the ways of the next higher group. Whereas formerly, says the *Geldersche Volksalmanak* for 1847, one could recognize the nobleman, the peasant, or a member of the middle class by his attire, nowadays all orders but for low meekly the dictates of everchanging fashion, "the geese, waddling one after the other." In vain ministers warned that it was foolish for a peasant to ape the ways of a gentleman of leisure, and for a maid to dress as her mistress; that to *appears* as that which one *was* not would only breed discontent and inner uncertainty. In spite of these admonitions, luxuries of dress and table which had long remained the privilege of those at the top rapidly found their way into the homes of the humblest.

As a result, the cost of living increased just when the general economic depression caused the revenues of many to fall off. Everywhere people complained of "less income and greater needs." Brummelkamp and Van Raalte pointed out that "the already exorbitant luxury of women of the middle class only with difficulty keeps the pace of the frivolous maidservant." And Scholte asserted in *De Reform*

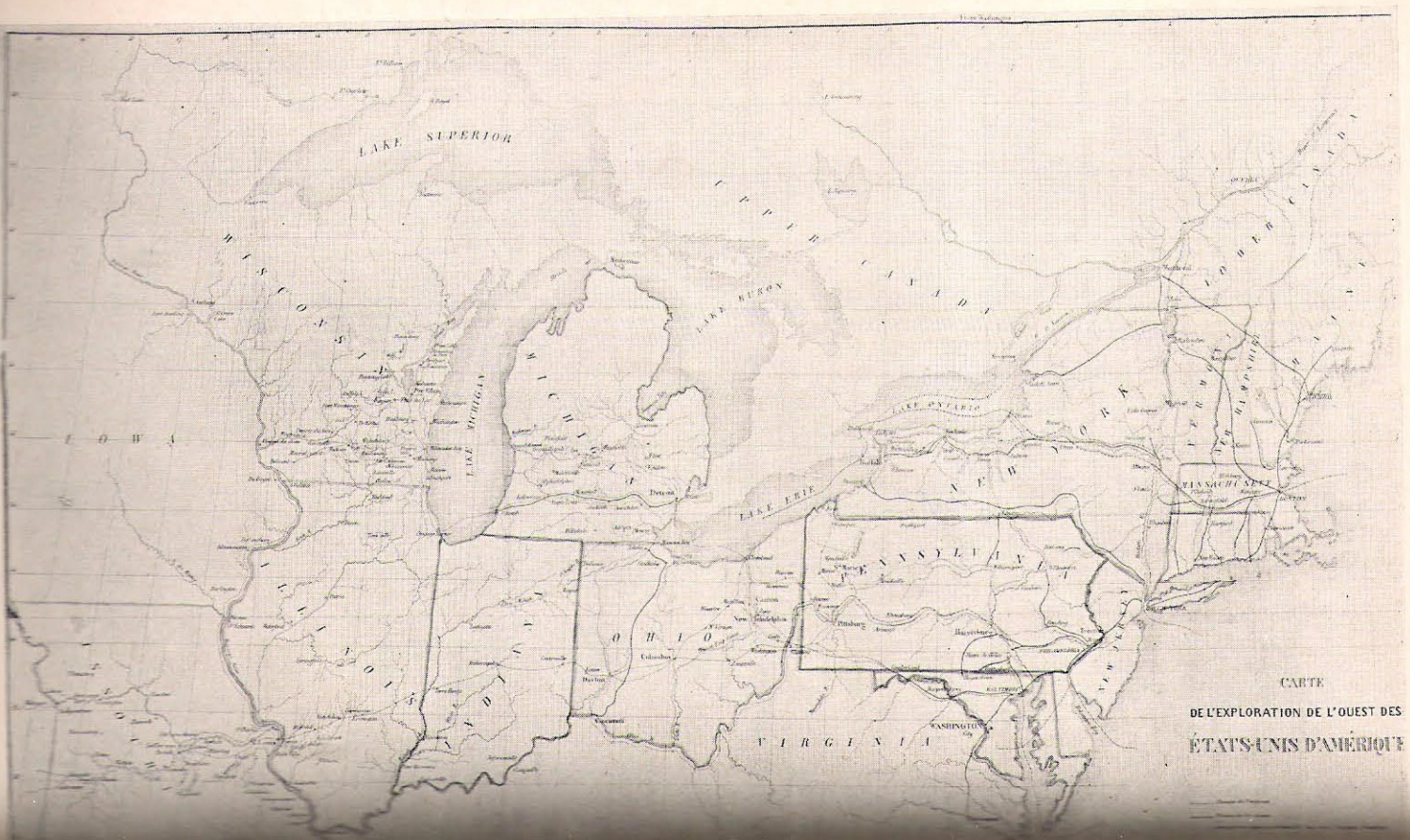
alle that "in order not to lose one's credit, it was [often necessary] to put up a bold front and thus maintain one's respectability."

Two factors help to explain why so many found the answer to these vexing problems in emigration to the United States. The first was the singularly good reputation which the North American republic enjoyed among the oppressed classes of Europe; the other, the abundance of cheap transportation available in western European ports during this period.

Before the middle of the century there existed already an extensive and varied literature on the United States. As the great laboratory for democratic processes of government and social organization, the young republic had always attracted a host of European visitors. Their accounts found a ready sale among their compatriots, who especially after 1830 were becoming increasingly critical of conditions in their own countries. The existence of a free commonwealth across the Atlantic constantly invited comparison between the Old World and the New. America thus became a political issue and was the subject of frequent debate in newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets.

American literature, too, began to attract the attention of readers in Europe. Above all, Cooper and Irving appealed to the romantic sensibilities of the day. Of the former, thirteen novels were translated into Dutch in the years 1826-40; among them was *The Last of the Mohicans*, which one critic called "a wild and dreadful novel, by no means to be recommended to the weaker sex." Most readers, however, seem to have possessed stronger nerves, for five years later, in 1839, the editor of *De Gids*, Everhardus Jan Potgieter, was able to write that "the fame of Chateaubriand was eclipsed by that of Cooper wherever panoramas of the wilderness and its natives were concerned."

To this result Potgieter, himself a close student of American literature, had perhaps contributed more than anyone else in Holland. Through him and his journal the Dutch public was constantly advised of the literary achievements of America.



The average emigrant, however, gleaned his information from less highbrow sources. As emigration became a regular feature of nineteenth century life, emigrant guides appeared in great numbers. In Holland most of these works were of German origin. Thus Beukma, of whom we have spoken before, consulted the *Journey through North America* in 1825 and 1826, by the Duke of Sachsen-Weimar, and Gerke's *American Counselor*. Very well known was the *Book for Emigrants* by Moritz Beyer, a Dutch edition of which appeared in 1846 with a word of recommendation from Ds. H. P. Scholte. The latter also urged those readers of the *Reformator* who understood French to study the "recently published semi-official report" on the condition of the emigrants in the United States of North America by the secretary of the Belgian legation at Washington, baron A. van der Straten Pontoz. (This report, too, was translated into Dutch in 1847.) Of special interest to the Seceders was the series of articles on the relation of church and state and religious life in the United States, which after 1845 appeared regularly in the same periodical. They were all taken from the French edition of Robert Baird's *Religion in the United States of America* (1844). A Dutch translation of this work was published in its entirety in 1846-49.

From such sources the emigrant learned in a general way what opportunities awaited him in the newly opened up regions of the midwest and what difficulties he might encounter on his way to the "Promised Land." The guide-books usually gave a brief description of the physical geography of the United States and of the western states in particular, and discussed the climate, health conditions, and the natural resources of the country. They invariably spoke of the great differences in temperature between summer and winter, and emphasized agriculture as the chief means of support. The writers never failed to mention the low cost of government land, the good prices farmers obtained for their products and the high wages for the laborers, which enabled "even the poorest to acquire eighty acres of their own after two years." Because of the scarcity of farm labor, a large family was an asset rather than a liability,

worried parents were told. Every book, furthermore, contained information on the constitution of the United States and described the simple way in which newcomers were admitted to citizenship. Finally, and most important of all, the emigrants were advised when and how to leave, what equipment to take along, how to lessen the hardships of life aboard an emigrant vessel, and how to guard against the trickery of "runners" and dishonest landlords and steam boat or railroad officials after their arrival in America.

Important as these guidebooks were, however, they were generally written by men whom few, if any, of the emigrants had ever known or heard of before. Far greater therefore was the impression made by letters from people with whom the emigrants had been closely associated before their departure to America: letters from relatives, friends, ministers and members of the same church, which first passed from hand to hand and afterwards oftentimes were published in newspapers or separate brochures. Such were the *Voices from North America* edited by Brummelkamp in 1847, of which the paper *Overtijdsel* wrote:

We hear on good authority that two letters from Ds. Van Raalte have arrived, written from North America, which will presently be published . . . together with another letter of very remarkable purport from a settler's family. The influence of the widely dispersed copies has already been so far-reaching that the desire to leave the country—already sufficiently great, indeed,—has been awakened with fresh vigor.

A visit from a former compatriot who had in the meantime become prosperous would likewise rouse many to follow his example. Thus the *Provinciale Frieseche Courant* wrote of the emigration of thirty-odd farmers from Hottel in the spring of 1847:

They have reached this decision through the encouragement of Beukema [*sic*], formerly a farmer in the region of Groningen, who eleven years ago migrated to that State [Indiana], and having now returned to the Fatherland, brings not unfavorable tidings from those quarters. This person too is presently leaving again for his possessions over there.

Of great importance, also, for the Roman Catholic migration from the Netherlands was the visit in 1847 of Father

Theodore J. van den Broek, O. P., a native of Amsterdam who had spent many years as a missionary among the Indians of eastern Wisconsin.

The influence of representatives of shipping companies and American land concerns is less evident in this period, but they may also have stimulated the interest in emigration. Especially at Rotterdam several ship-brokers were engaged in the emigrant trade. Around 1850, the best known of these were the firms of Wamberse en Crooswijk, Hudig en Blokhuisen, Smith en Co., De Kuiper, Van Dam en Smeets, and Balgerier en Co. Doubtless various kinds of propaganda emanated from them.

In their estimate of American democracy as they came to understand it from these various sources, Hollanders differed widely. If the common people generally idolized America, the "Land of Liberty" seldom drew anything but abuse from the upper classes. As early as 1830 a very intelligent Dutchman of the old school gentry said to the American minister Preble,

You have no conception how they *hate* your government and people; they regard you as the school of liberalism and the source of all the revolutionary movements in Europe; for, in your happy condition, you are continually preaching in silence, but with powerful effect, doctrines and principles the most odious and alarming to them.

Likewise the anonymous author of the pamphlet *The Emigrants in the Canal of Voorn in May 1847* pointed to the "fierce attacks on the Yankees by all who call themselves gentlemen in England, men of honor in France, respectable people in our country."

In reviling everything American, the *Handelsblad*, mouthpiece of baron Nahuys van Burgst and other advocates of colonization in the Dutch East Indies, probably went farthest; but the editor of the *Amsterdamsche Courant*, Simon Vissering, although a liberal in economics, also contributed his share of scurrilous and even such a very progressive paper as the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* failed at "that so-called promised land." It is clear, therefore, that class feeling even more than political conviction

determined the attitude of the upper levels of society toward the "Common man's Utopia." These circles must have found ample food for their animosities in Dickens' *American Notes* and *Martin Chuzzlewit*, both of which were translated into Dutch in the same years as they appeared (1842-3).

The *Handelsblad* even frowned upon the freedom of worship in America.

The grossest bigotry is accepted along with the most shocking profanation of the Perfect Divine Being. This is certainly not the kind of religious freedom to suit Netherlanders.

The journal complained that civil liberty has degenerated into the law of the jungle, since the "backwoodsman" is accustomed to settle things for himself.

Why should this rugged son of the forest, born in the distant counties of the Union not judge his own case? For the Lynch law exists everywhere in the thinly-populated Far West of the United States.

Curiously enough, the climate too was considered "much more harmful to Netherlanders than in the Dutch East or West Indies." One very great pessimist warned his countrymen in the *Volksbode* of 1846,

The climate of America . . . may become the source of new disasters: here the yellow fever, there a sharp piercing air, elsewhere burning heat, bitter cold, all are dangerous to foreigners and cause most of those who arrive to pine away and die.

Neither did the image of America as the country where everyone with a little effort could rapidly attain prosperity remain unchallenged. In an attempt to discourage a movement of which they usually disapproved as unpatriotic, the newspapers made the most of the rare cases when emigrants "returned repentantly from North America to their own hearths"; or they played up the testimony of those who had been disappointed in their sometimes exorbitant hopes, like one carpenter from Noordwelle, L. van den Houten, who had left for America in the spring of 1846, had settled at Albany, and on November 2 of the same year wrote to some notables in his old home town: "Dear friends! I ad-

vise all of you who have your bread in Zealand to stay in your country."

Many Dutch people therefore no longer knew what to believe of all these stories. A correspondent of the paper *Oorijzel*, which evinced a special interest in emigration, wrote from Enschedé:

Hardly anything now is so much a topic of the day as the emigration to North America. Opinions differ on this; the one says: "Who goes there will be sorry for it"; the other: "We can no longer stand it here; if we stay until we have lost everything, what then? Whatever conditions may be in North America, they are probably better than here." Quite as different are the current rumors concerning reputed tidings from the emigrants, so that those who are inclined to emigrate do not know what they should hold for truth.

Only an occasional "ultra-liberal," such as the author of *The Emigrants in the Canal of Voorn* (who as a youngster had listened "with delight to the lively talk of his respected elders, when the news of Bunkershill [sic] and Saratoga was discussed") dared to affirm his old "liking for North America" in the face of all this abuse.

Potgieter, of course, was one who believed in the American dream.

America, you who shut no one away from your shores . . . who not only write *e pluribus unum* on your banners, but in very fact direct the most heterogeneous energies toward one great goal—a free and complete evolution of all that is human, what a glorious spectacle you provide, what more does not the world still expect from you? . . . Our eye rests with pleasure upon you, the rapidly expanding, happy, free State, without king, nobility, or ecclesiastical caste, you who hold the nations in a magic spell, and exert an influence upon them as inconspicuous as it is powerful, irresistible, and immediate, whose prosperity draws all those in Europe—not singly, but in great numbers—who are weary of the old ways.

So he wrote in 1855 in an article for the *Gids* on "Emigration to the United States."

While these literary controversies raged, the common people, less articulate, expressed themselves in deeds rather than words. In spite of hostile public opinion in many quarters, the flow of emigration to America continued unabated, as appears from the annual report for 1847 of the Delegates

of the States of Gelderland—with Zeeland the province that contributed the largest number of emigrants.

As the desire to emigrate to North America is developing more and more and is fanned all the time by the favorable reports from emigrants which at intervals have been received in the towns, it is to be expected that the decrease in population in this province will be considerable. Nothing awaits to check this exaggerated tendency. For as long as the low cost of land in the New World, the cheap provisions, the high wages, the freedom from all taxation, etc. are much advertised, no warnings of the sad fate that awaits the poor who leave without any prospects, can hold the crowd back and secure them against deception or disappointment.

Experience, however, proved the "crowd" right. Economic conditions in America may help to explain this notable success of the common man as a colonizer. By 1840 the American frontiersman had pushed back the untouched wilderness well beyond the Mississippi, thus opening up for settlement by European immigrants, untrained for the specialized business of pioneering, a large area where rich soil and ample supply of wood and water provided all that a primitive system of agriculture required. The pioneer farmer found a ready market for his produce in the rapidly developing western communities, and the steamboat service on the Great Lakes and on the Mississippi and its tributaries, supplemented by a swiftly expanding network of canals and railroads, guaranteed cheap transportation for the settler in the interior as well as for the newly arrived immigrant on the coast.

By this time also a standard technique of immigration had been evolved, by which, as Mr. Hansen has well said, each individual was gradually shaken down into the niche for which his talents, training, or necessity fitted him. An immigrant who had spent all of his money in crossing the Atlantic would find work in an eastern factory or would grade roads and dig ditches until he had saved enough to continue his journey westward and become the owner of a small farm. Thus of the group of eighty Roman Catholics who came over with Father Gothard in 1848, the Verwyst family, consisting of a father, mother, and four sons, were

forced through lack of means to stay in Boston instead of traveling on to Wisconsin with the others. For the next seven years the father at various times worked on a railroad in Vermont, in a rope factory in Roxbury, and as a cooper in East Boston, while the children added to the family income by picking berries and cutting water cress in the woods around Dorchester and Roxbury. Finally, in the early spring of 1855, the Verwysts were able to join their friends at Hollandtown, Wisconsin, where they bought sixty acres of woodland, seven of which had already been cleared. But farming in Wisconsin proved no picnic: at the end of four years Verwyst and his sons had succeeded in clearing only thirty acres of their farm. It is no wonder, then, that some settlers preferred the city to the country, especially among the artisans, for whom there was usually little business in the purely agricultural communities.

This accounts for the presence of many Netherlanders both in the cities near the coast, such as Paterson, New York City, and Baltimore, and in booming towns near farming centers, like Grand Rapids. Many were also to be found in cities on the Great Lakes route—Albany, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Chicago—and up the Mississippi, at St. Louis, Keokuk, Burlington, Davenport, and Dubuque. Few, however, stayed in New Orleans, where the heat was apparently too much for them.

In its factories and on its farms, therefore, America offered an opportunity to all. Nowhere else were industry and agriculture so neatly balanced; nowhere, too, was the climate so well suited for white settlement. But these facts were not at once clearly recognized in Europe. The years between 1840 and 1845 abounded in schemes to send colonists all over the world. The outcome of these ventures only strengthened the ordinary man's faith in the United States.

While the French and British governments were peopling Algiers and New Zealand—with a fair degree of success—, German and Belgian attempts to colonize in Texas and in Central America failed pitifully. In Holland the ministers Beting, Van den Brandhof, and Copijn had proposed as early as 1839 to combat the increasing pauperism

by means of state-sponsored emigration. The government had fallen in with the idea and had investigated Surinam for the purpose in 1841. Two years later Betting was sent to the colony to make the necessary preparations for a large scale emigration of Dutch farmers. In vain an anonymous writer in the *Tijdsgeenoot* pointed out that the colonists would lack an adequate market for their farm products. (It is interesting to note that Mrs. Verkade-Cartier van Dissel in her recent dissertation likewise has reached the conclusion "that a colonization by whites in Surinam with no other than a local market, must fail.") Nevertheless the plans for a settlement on the Saramacca River were carried out, even against the will of Betting, who had lost courage after visiting the country and had been recalled. Betting had also doubted that there would be a sufficient interest in emigration there among his countrymen, but at long last the promoters of the scheme succeeded in bringing together 384 settlers, who after much delay sailed in four ships to South America in 1845. The whole affair, however, was so poorly managed that within six months after their arrival in Surinam, 180 persons died, among them the minister Copijn. The survivors were quickly transferred to Groningen, on the other side of the river, but this settlement likewise proved a failure. At the end of five years, when their contracts expired, the majority of the colonists left for Rana on the upper Surinam River or for the capital, Paramaribo. This exodus began in 1849, and four years later the settlement at Groningen was abandoned.

The ill success of this venture, of course, ruled out Surinam as a haven for those Netherlanders who after the failure of the potato crop were beginning to think seriously of emigration. "The West Indies at present need not be considered," wrote Brummelkamp and Van Raalte, as they explained why they directed the flow of Dutch emigration to the United States.

Neither did the East Indies—though for different reasons—ever become a competitor of America in this respect. Here, first of all, the government refused the necessary co-operation, although public opinion was then very much in

favor of a colonization on Java or one of the Outer Possessions. Even the leaders of emigration to America did not altogether reject the idea of settling in the East Indies, apparently under the influence of a rather sensational brochure by one Van den Hucht. Scholte at the instigation also of Heldring suggested to the minister of the colonies in an address of May 9, 1846, that the island of Ceram be opened up for colonization. But the answer was rather discouraging. Provided that the current experiment in Surinam would prove that a tropical climate was no serious obstacle, said minister J. C. Baud, "the government might consider founding a Dutch settlement on some island in the East Indian Archipelago, where no natives would run the risk of being crowded out by the colonists or of losing any of their rights." The island Buru was subsequently investigated for this purpose, but with a negative result.

One may doubt after all that Scholte would have influenced many to go to the Indies, even if the government had been more helpful. For his followers consisted largely of breeders to whom the freedom of religion and education in America made an especially powerful appeal. And the arbitrary expulsion from Java by the governor-general J. J. Rochussen of a number of Roman Catholic clergymen in 1846, showed that by going out to the Indies one might drop from the frying pan into the fire. The cost of transportation also would have been prohibitive, without state aid; and after the *débâcle* in Surinam, the government was no longer inclined to give financial assistance to any colonization schemes.

High passage rates, along with other complications, also deterred Hollanders from going to the Cape Colony, "where a strong Dutch element still prevails," as S. Vissering remarked in *De Gids*. Scholte, who surveyed all the possibilities, listed the following objections to emigration there:

In the first place one would have to deal with the English government and although on promising not to conspire with the exiled boers, a colonization of Natal might perhaps be permitted, yet the manner of living over there is too different from our customary way of life for us to dare advise the multi-

nude to proceed thither. Moreover, one is still exposed there to the attacks of the heathen Kaffirs [in 1846 the seventh Kaffir war, the so-called "War of the Axe" had broken out]. Among the exiled boors one might find adherence to ancient forms but not so much living faith, while in addition slavery is being permitted by them. Furthermore, the cost of transportation and settlement would be a hardship for a great many, and would probably exceed the means of our Christians.

The abundant shipping facilities to all the chief ports of the United States must indeed be regarded as the second great reason for this country's success in attracting the bulk of the European emigrants of the late forties and fifties. After the return of peace in 1815, the number of ships employed in the export of American cotton and tobacco to Europe increased steadily. But European industry seldom furnished an adequate return cargo for these ships. What the factories and workshops failed to supply, however, the mine and unemployment provided: by 1840 the emigrant had become a standard export article to America, where the product of Europe's misery was generally accorded a better welcome than that of her industry.

The emigrant trade soon developed into a well-organized business. At first the individual had bargained personally with the captain for his passage. But it was not long until the latter took to the practice of selling the available space outright to a broker, who was then responsible for recruiting the passengers and guiding them safely to the port of embarkation. This system, of course, opened the door to all kinds of deceit and irresponsible propaganda yet it also served the interests of the emigrants in a day of irregular sailings, for it enabled them to avoid the frequent delays in distant harbors, which so rapidly ate up their scanty resources.

As the volume of trans-Atlantic commerce increased the rivalry among the various shipping concerns cut the passenger fare in half between 1815 and 1830. This corresponds with the general drop in prices in that postwar period. How these rates compared with those in previous centuries, however, is difficult to determine. In the days of the West India Company, thirty guilders was usually con-

sidered a fair price for passage and board. But by 1651, as we have seen, the skippers were charging as much as fifty guilders per person. In 1686 Robert Webb estimated the cost at five pounds sterling or fifty-five guilders, and German emigrants who sailed from Rotterdam to Philadelphia in 1722 paid sixty-six guilders.

At the time of the "Great Migration," between 1846 and 1850, the fare from Rotterdam to New York apparently averaged thirty-five guilders; but as the emigrants had to provide their own food during the voyage, about twenty-one additional guilders were required. With slight variations, the other important continental ports like Bremen, Hamburg, Antwerp, and Havre charged the same price.

Thus the voyage across the Atlantic was brought within the means of the lower middle class. Those who were entirely destitute were frequently conveyed at the expense of a more fortunate fellow-emigrant. It is said, for instance, that Janne van de Luyster, one of the founders of Zeeland, Michigan, financed the emigration of no fewer than fifty-six of his poor countrymen. The needy members of Scholte's congregation were helped over to America with funds obtained from the sale of church property. Under this new system, therefore, the future settler need not renounce his personal freedom in order to reach the land of his dreams. The ancient traffic in indentured servants, in which Rotterdam had once taken such an important part, never recovered from the blow it suffered in the American economic depression of 1819.

By 1840, too, certain technical improvements had been introduced, which to some degree reduced the hazard of the ocean voyage. With an improved compass and a reliable chronometer, navigators no longer depended upon the involved process of dead reckoning to ascertain their positions. Better charts and an expanding system of lighthouses and buoys now guided them through the dangerous coastal waters of Europe and America. Greater attention was also given to lifesaving devices. Yet accidents continued to occur. "In shipping circles it was estimated," says Mr. Hansen, "that one out of every hundred Atlantic voyages would

end in a shipwreck, and that of these wrecks, one in twenty would prove fatal to ship, crew, and passengers."

But with the exception of a group of eighty-six Frisians who lost all their possessions in the shipwreck of the English schooner *William and Mary* off the Bahamas in the spring of 1853, Hollanders seem to have fared well during this part of the journey. In the annals of Dutch migration for this period there is no record of any great disaster on the ocean.

Even if all went well, however, the Atlantic passage remained a trying experience. The average emigrant ship was a sailing vessel of about three or four hundred tons registry, designed chiefly for the carrying of freight. The accommodations for the passengers in the steerage were generally of the poorest, and overcrowding—in spite of all regulations to the contrary—often made things worse. The voyage in such a ship, as in the days of the West India Company, still lasted from six to eight weeks. The passengers had to provide their own food, unless they sailed from Bremen and Hamburg, where for approximately the same amount of money the shipping companies supplied a somewhat more nutritious diet of salt meat and beans. All cooking was done in the open air, the passengers taking turns at the public kitchen stove on the upper deck. This system, of course, gave rise to frequent disputes, besides depriving the emigrants of warm meals during stormy weather.

The passengers were also expected to take part in the daily routine of scrubbing the deck and cleaning their own quarters. In case of an emergency, the captain might even call upon people with special skills to volunteer their services, it being understood that the remuneration would consist in good will and small favors rather than cash.

The mortality aboard the emigrant vessels was frightful. Between Liverpool and the St. Lawrence—a route frequented by thousands of Irish, whose health had already been undermined by the famine of preceding years—in 1847 an estimated six per cent of the passengers died during the voyage. This probably was an all time high, but during the last four months of 1853, the number of deaths on ships

sailing from all the important continental and English ports still varied between a little less than two and a little more than three per cent.

The *Franziska*, the ship on which John Hospers sailed from Rotterdam in 1849, had been on the ocean only five days when the first death occurred. In his diary Hospers describes the early morning burial at sea to which the captain on the night before had summoned all the emigrants.

At seven o'clock the passengers come out on deck; the first mate fastens the child's body [wrapped and sewed in canvas] to a canvas sack filled with stones and places the corpse on a board, which lies with one end resting on a cask and the other extending overboard. The captain stands at one end near the cask, reads solemnly in high-German, and then commands the seamen who stand on opposite sides of the board to let the corpse slide into the water. All stand with uncovered heads. At the captain's word Maasdam announces the singing of Psalm 103:8 and 9. The solemnity is impressive.

Before the *Franziska* reached New York, the group had lost nine more members, among them two children of Hospers himself.

In such adversity men needed the consolation of religious fellowship. Here the Seceders and also the Roman Catholics had a decided advantage, for as a rule they left in organized groups under qualified leaders who conducted prayer meetings whenever the weather permitted, and in general cared for the spiritual needs of the emigrants. So when the *Maria Magdalena* set sail from Rotterdam on March 19, 1848, Father Van den Broek's first care was to have an altar erected in the steerage amongst the baggage and bunks of the passengers. Here he "celebrated mass every day, provided it was not too stormy," one of his fellow passengers later remembered.

When the emigrants finally landed in an American port, their troubles were by no means at an end. If Michigan, Wisconsin, or Iowa was their destination, there still awaited them a three weeks' journey by rail or boat from the eastern seaboard inland. From St. Louis, of course, the route was shorter, cheaper, and also more convenient, for one could go the whole way by boat and avoid the costly

changes from one type of transportation to another. But the extreme heat and the frequent epidemics of yellow fever made it inadvisable for emigrants to land here after May or before November.

Traveling inland was only a little less expensive than the Atlantic passage, so that the cost of the entire journey from Rotterdam to Pella, Iowa, was estimated at one hundred guilders (forty dollars) per person. The inland transportation was as highly organized as that across the ocean, and as the emigrants were usually unfamiliar with the English language, the chances for fraud were even greater. In his *Voice from Pella*, Scholte warned against the

... kidnappers and deceivers who storm each incoming ship of emigrants like bands of hungry wolves. Every transportation office has a few such way-men in its service and this method of exploiting the pulses of foreigners is so involved, that even now, after having experienced everything, I cannot yet confidently recommend any office as one upon which people can rely.

Among the "runners" with whom Scholte had to contend were also

... several Hollanders... who were acquainted with the relatives and circumstances of some of whose coming they had heard, obviously obliged by allies equally concerned in Holland.

[Van der Zee's translation.]

This last part of the journey was even considered harder and more dangerous than the ocean voyage—and not without reason, as the disaster of the propellor *Phoenix* off Sheboygan on Lake Michigan early on Sunday morning November 21, 1847, proved. Among the passengers were some 150 Dutch emigrants from Winterswijk and Varsseveld in the province of Gelderland, who were on their way to join relatives in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. Through negligence on the part of the crew, the *Phoenix* caught fire when only five miles out of the harbor. Within an hour after smoke had first been discovered coming out of the engine room, two life boats were launched, in which forty-three persons managed to escape with their lives. Among these were twenty-five Hollanders, who made

themselves useful by bailing out water with their wooden shoes. The remaining 127 were either suffocated or burned to death, or they perished in the icy waters of Lake Michigan. Hendrikje Geerlings of Apeldoorn, member of a very well-to-do family which was completely wiped out, lost her life "because she went back to get a wrap for Alberta, the baby, only a few months old, and when she returned, the lifeboats were gone." With one or two exceptions the Dutch survivors, who experienced much kindness from the population of Sheboygan and Milwaukee, finally made their home in the latter place, or settled at Gibbville and Cedar Grove.

The news of the disaster, which was widely circulated in the Dutch newspapers, temporarily checked the flow of emigration from Gelderland. On the whole, however, the knowledge of the dangers and hardships attending travel in and to America failed to deter any large number from coming. The fact that the journey was at all possible sufficed: that America would in time compensate them the emigrants never doubted.

In the forties, as we have seen, this emigration from Europe for the first time assumed mass proportions. There was a gradual increase in the number of emigrants until 1844; then the figures suddenly jumped upwards and soon reached a first peak in 1847, followed by a marked retrogression in the next year; after this they mounted again with breaks in 1850 and 1853, until an absolute high was attained in 1854. During the following years emigration steadily declined, and finally the economic depression of 1857 and the beginning of the Civil War in America brought to a close this first phase of the movement.

The emigration from Holland followed this general curve, except that here, as in Belgium, an absolute high was reached as early as 1847, with 5,322 emigrants. Numerically Dutch emigration was insignificant, even during the "Great Migration." In the five years from 1846 to 1850, according to Dutch statistics, 12,089 Hollanders moved to America, as compared with 448,760 Germans and 947,430 Irish. The average annual figure in the decade from 1847

to 1856 was less than one-tenth of the yearly increase of the population. In proportion to the entire population of the Kingdom, only one in fifteen hundred persons had emigrated annually during this period.

It is not surprising therefore that the general excitement caused by the relatively large number of emigrants in 1847 soon passed when people learned the results of the investigation which the governors of the various provinces instituted at the order of the Minister of the Interior, Van Randwijk, on December 21, 1847. Earlier in the same year, Van Randwijk had also considered the advisability of detaining forcibly men who were eligible for military service, but had abandoned this plan for the time being because it "involved grave difficulties." The minister insisted, however, that all soldiers on furloughs request official permission before emigrating.

Thus without any active interference from the government, the movement ran its course. Contrary to the expectation of several of its leaders that the emigration of so many industrious members of the middle class would widen the gap between the very rich and the very poor and cause the downfall of the state, conditions in the Netherlands improved rapidly, and ironically, after 1848. The liberal regime of prime minister Thorbecke introduced the very reforms which Scholte had demanded in the *Reformatie* of 1847, such as complete freedom of religion and education, free trade, pruning of the government in the interest of economy, and the abolition of the excise on flour, meat, and fuel. The spirit of enterprise gradually returned, and with it came an unprecedented prosperity; so that Potgieter, writing in 1855, wondered if the emigrants of 1847 "might not have done better, if they had not left in such a hurry." But the pastors who led their flocks away had no such misgivings. Their colonies still bear testimony to their faith in the new country.

V. THE GREAT MIGRATION

The leaders of the church secession, such as Van Raalte, Scholte, Van der Meulen, and others, did not solicit the emigration of their co-religionists, as the anonymous writer in *Onze Eeuw* insinuated, in order to "prevent their congregations from going to seed" because their parishioners were returning in large numbers to "such denominations as cared more liberally for the poor, the orphans, and the aged." As far as can be ascertained, the movement started spontaneously with a few families from Gelderland and Zeeland who emigrated during the late thirties and early forties. In 1832 the Luitweiler family, consisting of five sons and two daughters, came from Flushing to make their home in Rochester. Four years later, Jan Cappon, also from Zeeland, settled at Pulteneyville in Wayne County, New York. He and one Jacob Puyndbroek by their enthusiastic reports induced a large number of their friends at Kadzandt to join them during the years 1840 to 1845. Some of these Zeelanders established themselves at East Williamson in Wayne County; the remainder, about 150 people, continued their journey by way of the Erie canal to Rochester.

From Gelderland, too, the movement was already well under way when a schoolmaster from the village of Nede, A. Hartgerink, for the first time drew the attention of the Rev. Anthony Brummelkamp to the opportunities which America offered to needy "Christians"—as the Seceders frequently styled themselves. The teacher brought along some letters from emigrants who had recently gone to America. Brummelkamp was deeply moved by what he read, and immediately sent for Van Raalte.

Both of us had known the writers as extremely poor people, and these lines told of an abundance such as could no longer

be imagined in the home country. We were speechless. A light dawned upon us amidst the gloom of parochial relief. God opened our eyes, and we saw that in our troubles we resembled the builders of Babel's tower. Like those tower builders, we were crowding each other out. Whenever a farm was to be let or sold, twenty to forty people would bargain for it. If a house had to be built, twenty carpenters wanted the job, for they would otherwise be without work. Now we realized there is still room on God's earth; only move up a little!

Thus in 1845 the ministers of the Seceders "discovered America," to quote Dr. Van Hinte, from whom the above account is borrowed.

These men, whom the common suffering in the days of persecution had inspired with a rare sense of social responsibility, were quick to perceive the task that lay ahead.

If Hollanders are scattered among a foreign population, they will be too much left to themselves, because they cannot in so short a time familiarize themselves with the language in which the Gospel is preached. Through colonization those who leave will be able to hear the Gospel in their native tongue during the first few years at least, and may thus receive that spiritual sustenance which will confirm them in the faith, kindle them in love, warn them against the cravings of the flesh that militate against the spirit.

Thus Scholte expressed what was uppermost in the minds of all who in these and subsequent years assumed leadership in the movement.

But secular as well as religious considerations pleaded for group emigration. Association was an act of self preservation. The majority of the emigrants seldom possessed the material wealth or the spiritual attainments needed to cope successfully as individuals with the multiple problems of transportation and first settlement. Especially the high death rate during the journey threatened to leave many women and children forlorn unless they had the group support. By uniting under competent leadership these people had a chance to succeed where as individuals they might easily have failed. This had been demonstrated by the German experience from the days of William Penn on, as Baron A. van der Straten Pontboz pointed out in his *Report*, which—as we have seen—was studied carefully by Scholte in the days when the plans for a Dutch association for emi-

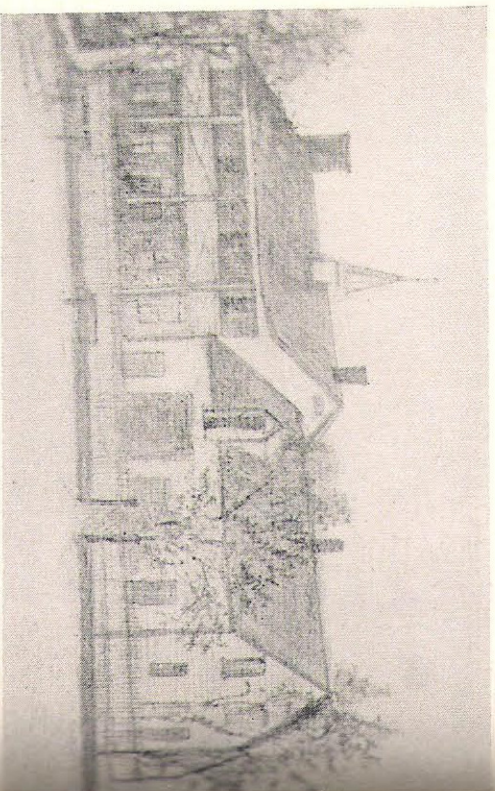
gration to America were taking shape. Van der Straten described in detail the German technique of group migration. The emigrants, he says, unite in bands before they set out on their journey. They decide where to settle. The letters of predecessors or conversations with fellow countrymen, whom they meet at the port of entry, and societies for the protection of emigrants, provide them with further information. The group stays in one of the cities in the interior that serve as centers of distribution. The most experienced go in search of a good location, and buy the land which is then divided according to the resources of each emigrant. Thus even the poorest can acquire a few acres of government land, which ordinarily does not sell in parcels of less than forty acres.

The Dutch emigration of 1846 and 1847 followed this pattern. Throughout the Netherlands, at Arnhem, Utrecht, Goes, and Leeuwarden, groups of Seceders united with their ministers during these critical years to work out plans for a joint emigration to America. The constitutions adopted by these local associations resemble each other closely, though a comparison of the main provisions reveals some interesting deviations from the example set by Van Raalte's group at Arnhem, which was the first to organize.

As the "first calling" of this association was "to make the colony Christian," membership was limited to persons "from whom it may be expected that they will be obedient to the will of God." The Zeeland group went a little farther and excluded all "who cherish false ideas regarding the doctrine of salvation," whereas at Utrecht, only Roman Catholics or those guilty of immoral conduct were barred from participation. Again, in order to prevent the intrusion of the spiritually unregenerate, Van Raalte's rules required that "the purchase of lands shall be made in the name of the society"; for the same reason the societies at Goes and Utrecht forbade any member to sell his share to outsiders without the consent of the Board of Control.

Provision was also made by those of Arnhem and Goes for the conveyance of members who were unable to pay for

their own passage. At Utrecht this problem was less urgent, for most of Scholte's followers were fairly well to do. The Arnhem charter stipulated that one-fifth of all incomes or profits from the lands of such persons should be set aside until the principal and the interest (five per cent) had been repaid. In the Zeeland regulations those who took needy friends along at their own expense were required to submit the terms of their contracts for approval to the Board of Control, which would see to it that they were "Christian in spirit and reasonable from the point of view of both parties."



Residence of the Rev. H. P. Scholte at Pella. Built in 1848, from Wright's and Young's History of Marion County, vol. I, p. 148, Chicago, S. J. Clark Publishing Co., 1915.

During the voyage and the period of first settlement the Board of Control, chosen by the men of twenty years and over, would assume direction of practically all matters of common concern. With respect to religion each group acted differently. Whereas the Zeeland emigrants organized themselves as a congregation before their departure, choosing Ds. Van der Meulen for their pastor, Van Raalte's followers did not take this step until later, after the settlement in Ottawa County. Scholte, with characteristic individualism, left each member of his association to decide for himself on matters of church polity.

Having adopted a constitution, the group at Arnhem immediately began to prepare for the general exodus. Like the Jews of the Old Testament and the Labadists of the seventeenth century, their first act was to send out "spies" who were to report to the association on the conditions in the "New Canaan." In May and June 1846, therefore, a number of needy families were sent over to the coastal cities of the United States at the expense of the Association. On the morning of May 28 a large group gathered in the church at Arnhem, and after singing the 121st Psalm and invoking Divine Blessing, accompanied the first of these "scouts" to the steamboat which was to take them to Rotterdam. From here they were to sail for Baltimore; as a result of heavy storms, however, they landed in Boston, which was the destination of a second group that departed a week later in the same manner. One of the women recorded her first impressions of America in a long and enthusiastic letter to the folks back home.

Nearly all people eat meat three times a day; . . . And everybody is kind, and helps us out with everything; what we do not have, they lend us; chairs to sit on they brought to our room until we . . . had bought six others for 3 dollars, and a bedstead for a quarter less than 2 dollars; for here are no enclosed bunks and bedsteads, as in our country, but open couches; I guess this is on account of the heat; and they sleep with a feather bed underneath and a straw ticking on top; but quite correct and nice; Arnhem can't compare with it. One sees no poor here, no beggars, nor any collections or poor boxes, not even in the churches which my husband visited . . . Schools are free here . . . there are no taxes . . . pubs for drunks, such as in Arnhem, one does not find here . . . One sees great luxury, magnificent buildings, doors have silver knobs, houses of five stories high, beautiful churches . . . The finery is great, one cannot discern any difference between a cobbler's wife and the wife of a prominent gentleman; most people go bareheaded; I hope to remain an exception to this custom of theirs, even though I attract everybody's attention . . . The arts and sciences are flourishing; my husband says that he has experienced a good deal, but never saw people work as they do here: entire houses, even four stories high, are here moved several blocks with a machine to which sometimes as many as 16 horses are hitched; foundations are loosened and then are moved in their entirety, not only frame buildings but also brick; my husband saw this himself . . . Washings hang out on the line all night, nobody steals here; there is no need for this; no sentries in front of the

houses; no night watchmen; gatebells need not ring; here are no gates; for one does not see any custom officers, no cops, only a few policemen, who look more like gentlemen, but their hat is marked in front with the word: Police. There are soldiers here, but not many; handsomely dressed; volunteers, some married; they serve three days a week to keep their guns clean and to give band concerts in the city, I never heard more beautiful music . . . Evenings everything is quiet; stores close at 9 o'clock, but open again at daybreak.

Not only did Van Raalte's investigators send home favorable reports, but they also established some very valuable contacts with Americans of old Dutch descent. Just then many prominent New York families who traced their ancestry back to the days of Pieter Stuyvesant and Wouter van Twiller showed a lively interest in things Dutch. Perhaps Washington Irving contributed more than anyone else to this Dutch vogue, but even before his *Knickerbocker History* came out (1819), the New York Historical Society had been founded (1804), and Van der Kemp had already begun translating the Dutch colonial records of New York (1817) at the request of Governor De Witt Clinton, himself of Dutch descent. Irving again was largely responsible for the founding of the St. Nicholas Society of New York in 1835, as a "rallying point for historic New York"; a similar society, however, existed at Albany as early as the twenties for the purpose "not only of keeping the feast of St. Nicholas, but also of affording relief to those of Dutch descent, who were poor and in need of help."

By 1839 the interest in the Dutch past had become sufficiently general in New York State to warrant the sending of the public expense of John Romeyn Brodhead as "an agent to procure and transcribe documents in Europe relative to the Colonial History of this State." While in Holland in 1841, Brodhead, at the request of the Rev. Dr. Thomas De Witt, pastor of the Collegiate Church of New York City, also examined the archives of the Classis of Amsterdam for possible material on the early history of the Dutch Reformed Church in America, and obtained the loan for four years of the original letters that had been sent from America to Amsterdam in the years before 1700. But

in 1846 when this period had expired, the American Synod was loath to part with the treasured letters, and asked Dr. De Witt, who was then just about to start for England in order to attend the first meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at London, to inquire if the Classis of Amsterdam would be willing to make a permanent cession of the documents.

When Dr. De Witt visited Holland for this purpose in the latter half of July, he made the acquaintance of Scholte at Utrecht. The exact circumstances which led up to their meeting are not known. De Witt may have heard of Scholte while still in America, for the persecution of the Seceders had been brought to the attention of the General Synod by the Class of Poughkeepsie as early as June 1838. Anyway, through Scholte, De Witt now learned of the plans for a large scale emigration of Seceders to America. He also took home with him a pamphlet containing a reprint of the letter "to the faithful in the United States of North America" which Brummelkamp and Van Raalte had entrusted to the small group of families whom the Association at Arrhem had sent over in May and June. De Witt was just about to republish his own version of this letter in the *Christian Intelligencer* of October 15, 1846, when the Rev. Isaac N. Wyckoff, pastor of the Second Reformed Church at Albany, into whose hands the original had been delivered, provided him with a ready made translation by a member of his congregation, who had emigrated from Holland only a short time before.

In response to the appeal by Brummelkamp and Van Raalte, Wyckoff had already started a Protestant Evangelical Holland Emigrant Society at Albany in order to "aid the pious poor in taking the necessary steps to obtain a settlement here." On January 23 of the following year, a number of wealthy residents of New York, natives of Holland, organized a similar society under the name of Netherlands Society for the Protection of Emigrants from Holland. They elected for their president J. F. van Eden Holleman, "in the Warrenstreet 41," and for vice-president, J. C. Kemp van Ec, a native of Tiel who had come to America in 1846. P. Hodeprijl, from 1843 to 1846 a professor

of modern languages at New Brunswick, New Jersey, acted as general agent for the Society, which also seems to have been represented at Boston by one Van der Wal from Arnhem. The object, like that of the Albany society, was avowedly not to promote emigration but rather to "assist and protect those who may of themselves wish to make this the country of their adoption." The agent tried to find suitable employment for the poorer emigrants, made contracts "under bonds and penalties" for the transportation of others, supervised the weighing of baggage, and maintained a hotel at the corner of Greenwich and Cedar Streets, where emigrants could find lodgings at the rate of "fifty cents per day or two dollars and fifty cents per week."

The activities of the Society were widely advertised both in America and in Holland. Unfortunately for its reputation, however, the transportation company of Dooge and Spaan, cloaking very dissimilar purposes with a similar name, was quartered in the same building at 114 Greenwich Street, and must have fleeced many of the lambs which the other organization sought to protect. The confusion became even greater when a split occurred in the directorate of the Society on January 11, 1848, and two rival groups were organized: the True Netherland Society, of which the Dutch Consul at New York, J. C. Zimmerman, was a director; and the Holland Protective Society.

This probably explains the wide differences of opinion among the emigrants concerning the integrity of the New York Society. Whereas Scholte wrote from New York on May 14, 1847, "I am much pleased with the Dutch Society for the protection of emigrants from Holland in this city," another well educated emigrant, S. Ozinga, advised strongly against dealing with the Dutch Society of New York.

On the other hand, the emigrants were unanimous in their praise of Wyckoff and his organization. "If you come to Albany," wrote J. van de Luyster Jr. in December 1847, "go at once to see the old, godly, and benevolent Ds. Wyckoff. To His Reverence, you can make known all your affairs and plans; he will treat you well."

Wyckoff must indeed have been an unusual personality,

"with a charity that grasped all men, and a fraternal, paternal manner that recognized no distinction of coat or gown or cassock or mitre, folding all their wearers to his heart in brotherhood," to quote from the obituary in the New York World of April 1, 1869. The article continued,

Especially was he the benefactor of the immigrant Hollander . . . These [newcomers] naturally went to such men as Dr. Thomas De Witt (*clarum et venerabile nomen*) and Dr. Wyckoff . . . [who] were like the clergymen they had left in the old land; and Dr. Wyckoff was busiest, kindest, most persevering, most enduring of men with them. He . . . talked with them about their old home and their new one; counselled, expostulated, scolded (for some scolding was a kindness); raised money for them; looked after their luggage; . . . preached for their cause; listened to their preaching; grieved in their woe; apologized for their errors; and entered into all their wants as a guardian.

Wyckoff in turn was deeply impressed by the religious spirit of the emigrants. "There are among them the most lovely and noble Christians I have ever seen. They remind me of the fathers—their faith is like Abraham's," he wrote to De Witt in December 1847. This, and the outstanding leadership of men like Van Raalte, earned for the Dutch immigrants—in spite of their poverty—a reception unequalled by any other nation. Scholte, too, met everywhere with a hearty, lively interest among Americans:

I believe that in general they cherish a too lofty opinion of us. In their conversation and newspapers we are represented as resembling the God-fearing Pilgrims who first settled in the United States . . . While the Germans who come here are less highly regarded, the Hollanders are held in honor and are often placed on an equality with the Americans.

[Van der Zee's translation.]

While in America preparations were made to receive the emigrants from Holland toward the spring of 1847, at home the urge to leave became stronger by the day. It was no longer possible to restrain the multitude, whose finances could bear no further delay. Disregarding the advice of their American friends first to send over a couple of competent men to select a site for the settlement, many of the Arnhem Association left early in the fall of 1846. As a re-

sult they arrived in this country at a season when the waterways to the West were closed to navigation, and the opportunities for employment were greatly reduced.

Among the first to arrive was Ds. Van Raalte with his family and a small band of followers. During the summer Van Raalte had become convinced that he should no longer leave those whom he had been instrumental in sending over to shift for themselves in a strange land. Concern for the future of his children also induced him to go to America. On Sunday, September 20, Van Raalte preached his farewell sermon to the congregation at Arnhem, on 1 John VII: 4. The next day the consistory accepted his resignation on the ground that his presence was required among the Hollanders in America, lest they be deprived of proper spiritual care. Finally on Tuesday morning, September 22, his group departed by boat for Rotterdam, whence they sailed in the English brig *Southerner*, arriving at New York on November 17.*

Originally Van Raalte had in mind to settle in Wisconsin, which at that time attracted the great bulk of the German emigration, and where some of the Arnhem "fore runners" had settled. (Wisconsin was then still a territory; it attained statehood two years later.) Because winter was approaching, Van Raalte lost no time in New York or Albany, but at once hurried on toward Milwaukee in an attempt to reach that city before the close of navigation. In this hope, however, he was disappointed. When he arrived with his flock at Detroit, the steamboat service on Lake Michigan had already been discontinued; and as the journey overland would have been too expensive, it was decided to spend the winter in this place. Fortunately most of the Hollanders found work in a shipyard at St. Clair, where the captain of the boat that had brought them to Detroit had a ship under construction.

As soon as Van Raalte had found a place for his wife and five children to live, he set out in search of a good location for his colony. Following suggestions from leading

*According to Dr. Henry Beets, Scholte gives November 18.



The Rev. A. G. van Raalte, from *History of Ottawa County, Chicago, 1882.*

members of the Presbyterian Church at Detroit and influential men from other parts of the State who had gathered there for the session of the Michigan legislature, Van Raalte made a thorough investigation of the western regions of that state. In this task he was assisted by Judge Kellogg from Allegan, whom he had met previously at the home of the Presbyterian minister at Kalamazoo. As a result, Van Raalte became interested in a tract of land at the mouth of the Black River; and after consulting with his American friends at Detroit, he finally decided to establish his settlement there. In 1872, at the quarter-centennial celebration of the founding of Holland, Van Raalte gave the following reasons for this choice.

I knew that the rich forest soil is best fitted for dairy industry and for winter wheat; that owing to the manufacturing interests and navigation, far higher market prices could be obtained here than at any place in the West; and that the country near the shore of Lake Michigan was protected by the water from severe frosts, and therefore preeminently a region adapted for fruit. I could find no place where, similar to those regions along the inhabited rivers, lined with manufactories and mills, the thousands could find work without danger of being scattered, and where at the same time we were certain of an opportunity continually to secure land, without any interference, for a group of settlements. I chose this region advisedly, because of its great variety of possibilities . . . In my mind's eye I saw here not only a locality well adapted to the condition of streams of laborers, but I saw also flourishing fisheries, a beautiful harbor . . . with our own ships, together with a rich rural community, for all of which I thanked God.

[Quoted from Van Schelven.]

Van Raalte's Michigan friends were well pleased when they learned of his decision to settle among them. At a meeting in the session room of the Presbyterian Church in Detroit on January 22, 1847, a central committee of seven, with sub-committees at Marshal, Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids, Grand Haven, Allegan, and Saugatuck was established "to aid in every practicable way, the emigrants who may reach our limits . . . and to invite, encourage, and direct the settlement of these emigrants within our State." This committee forthwith established contact with Wyckoff's organization at Albany, and with Dr. De Witt at New York.

Thus a nation-wide machinery was set up to receive the thousands of Dutch emigrants who were expected to arrive in the spring and summer of 1847.

As early as January 26 Van Raalte made the initial purchase of nearly one thousand acres of government land for his colony. Meanwhile he had informed the Hollanders at St. Clair of his choice of a location and had invited them to join him at Black Lake. Those who could, immediately followed the call of their leader, traveling by rail to Kalamazoo and from there on by sleigh to Allegan, where they found Van Raalte at the home of Judge Kellogg. Finally on Tuesday morning, February 9, a small vanguard of six men and one woman started out from Allegan for the site of the future settlement. In the evening they arrived at the house of Mr. Isaac Fairbanks, a government farmer who had lived in this region for years and promoted agriculture among the Indians. Here Van Raalte's faithful helper, B. Grootenhuis greeted them; he had been sent ahead with four American workmen to clear a path through the woods from the Fairbanks home to the place where the new city of Holland was to arise.

The next morning the settlers started with the construction of the first log cabin, which it took them two weeks to finish. Upon the completion of this task, the men sent to Allegan for their families. Thus the foundations were laid for the first successful Dutch colony on American soil since the days of the West India Company. In the course of 1847 and during the next year Van Raalte's pioneers were reinforced by several groups of Seceders, some larger, some smaller, who emigrated from the provinces of Zeeland, Friesland, and Overijssel, under the leadership of their ministers Van der Meulen of Goes, Ypma of Hollum, and Bolks of Hellendoorn; and also by many others from Groningen and Drente, and by a number of Germans from the *Graafschap Bentheim*. All these settled in the neighborhood of Van Raalte's colony, so that at the end of 1848 one found there close together the villages Holland, Zeeland, Vriesland, Drente, Groningen, Graafschap, and Overijssel.

The first years of the settlement were extremely difficult.

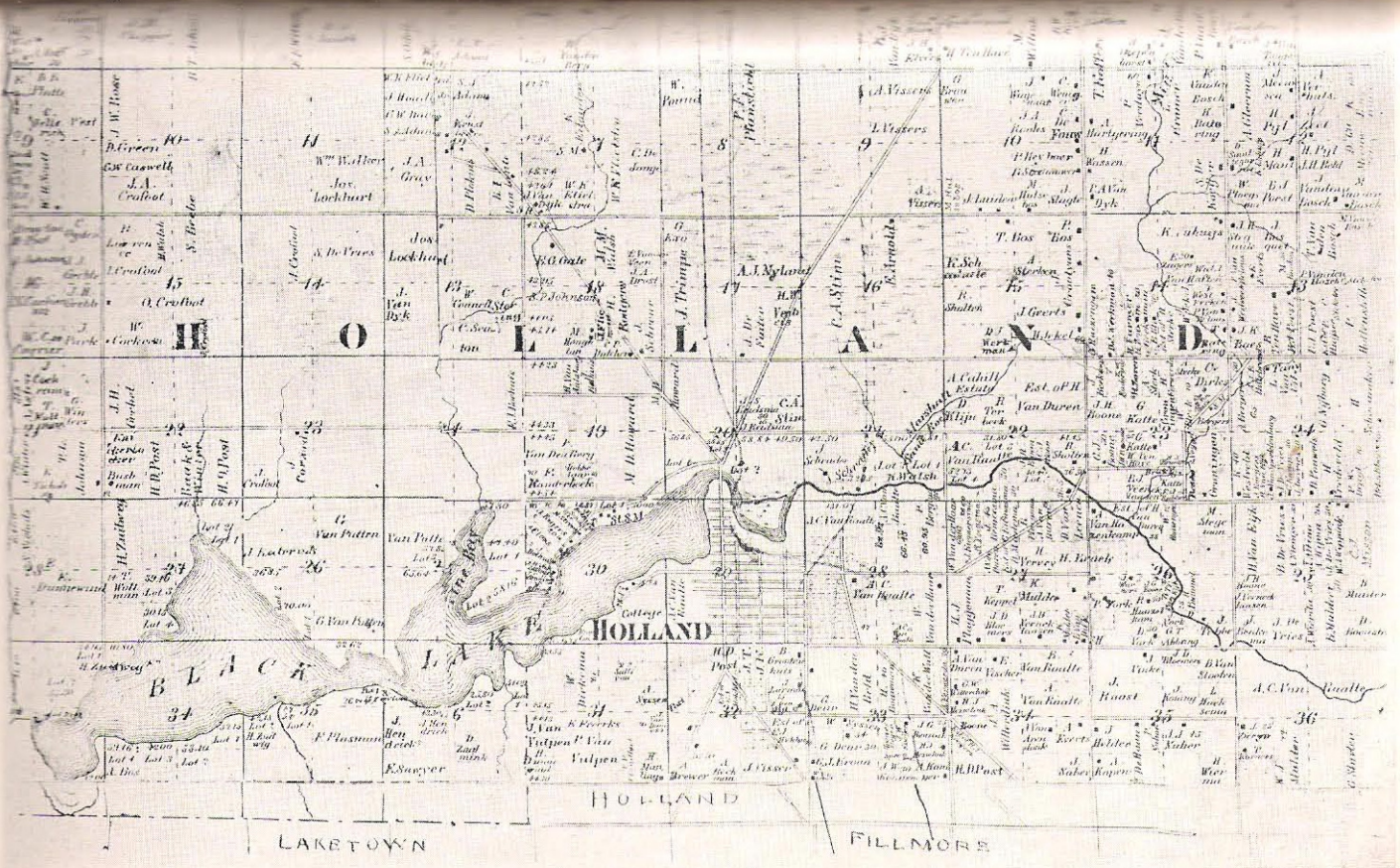
Monotonous diet, scanty shelter, and insufficient medical care caused so many deaths that even Van Raalte—in spite of his usual indomitable courage—knew moments of the blackest despair. While preaching one Sunday in the fall of '47, when hardly enough healthy people were left to bury the dead, he could no longer restrain himself, but burst out in tears and sobbed, "Oh Lord must we then all die!" Mr. H. van Eijk, who arrived in the colony in the late summer of 1848, noticed the bones of early settlers on the sand dunes of Black Lake. By this time, however, conditions were greatly improved. Houses had been built, and there was food and shelter for newcomers.

Van Eijk has recorded for us his first impression of the American Holland. Here and there one could discern a house in a small clearing in the midst of primeval forest, surrounded by stumps two or three feet high. The houses, thirty in number, were almost all built along one street. In addition twenty others were scattered over the whole area. Farmers had swarmed out, building log houses and clearing the woods. Four thousand people were reported living in the colony, which extended over twenty miles.

Within a few years the success of the Dutch settlement in Michigan was such that J. Messchert van Vollenhoven, J. J. Teding van Berkhout, and A. Brummelkamp, who in October 1849 had constituted themselves a committee to investigate the advisability of aiding poor Protestant Netherlanders to emigrate to the United States, agreed unanimously in their *Report* of January 29, 1851, "that if emigration of industrious but poor Netherlanders is desired, it should be directed toward an already existing settlement of Netherlanders in America, and in particular to the settlement in Michigan."

Nevertheless, not all the Hollanders who came over in the decade from 1847 to 1857 joined Van Raalte. Even among the Seceders many did not approve of his choice of a location. Principal among these was Ds. Scholte, the president of the "Association for Emigration to North America" at Utrecht.

Early in 1846 Scholte had not been ready to admit that



Holland township in 1864, from the Map of the Counties of Ottawa . . . , from the Official Records and Special Surveys by I. M. Gross . . . under the direction of Geil and Harley, Philadelphia, Samuel Geil, 1864.

conditions in the Netherlands made emigration a necessity, although even then he agreed that "if in many respects a change did not occur, present conditions will deteriorate to such an extent that it becomes impossible for a Christian to hold any job without violating his conscience." After the persecution of a group of Seceders at Baambrug, however, Scholte too became convinced that "such a state of things in the end would be unbearable." Whereas at first he had been unwilling to go beyond "making inquiries concerning such regions where a Christian colonization may profitably be attempted," he now pushed forward rapidly the plans for a Dutch settlement in the United States. In the May issue of the *Reformatie*, "all those who are thinking of emigration to North America" were offered an opportunity "to obtain the necessary information, to receive the requisite aid, and thereby to arrive at a proper collaboration for the establishment of a Dutch Free Colony in one of the fertile regions of North America." At this time there was evidently as yet no division between Scholte and the Arnhem group, for applicants were to write either "to the Rev. H. P. Scholte at Utrecht . . . [or] to the Rev. A. Brummelkamp at Arnhem."

Scholte emphasized the desirability of group settlement "especially in the interest of religion and education, as the North American Constitution leaves this responsibility entirely to the individual person." One of the first requirements for membership in the Association was "manifestation of firm Christian faith and a willingness to live after the Word of the Lord, as this is the principal guarantee for the perpetuation of an orderly and happy society."

As early as June Scholte was able to inform his readers that he had received letters from various provinces with lists of people who wished to leave.

We have heard from a few Christians with sufficient capital to remove themselves and their families, to purchase land, and to bring it under cultivation. We have received word from some who are able to finance their own transportation and that of the members of their household, but who are not rich enough to buy sufficient land for tillage. We have had reports from a very large number who would have to be conveyed entirely at

the expense of others. These belong largely to the peasantry and the artisans. We must add here that the majority of the entirely destitute are not Seceders.

Anyhow, sufficient interest had been shown for the plan to go through.

Scholte advised the wealthy to make contracts with the less fortunate and the poor, by which the latter would bind themselves to work the lands of the former during four years at reasonable wages according to American standards. In this period they were to receive only room and board; their wages were to be paid at the end of the four years, after deducting the charges for transportation; whoever left within the fixed time thereby forfeited his earnest money.

In August the first meeting of the participants took place. Over seventy well-to-do families had applied, most of them from the province of South Holland. "It was the general opinion of this meeting that the colonization should be directed toward one of the western states. Iowa in particular attracted the attention." Scholte had at first also pointed to Texas, but the majority would have none of it, for conditions there were as yet too unsettled. Finally it was decided to charge a committee of deputies from every community with working out the further details of the organization. When these delegates met for the first time at Utrecht on Friday, September 4, they brought with them instructions for the joint purchase of twelve sections of land, each of 640 acres.

By December 1846 this order had been enlarged to eighteen sections. In the center a quarter section of 160 acres was to be set aside for the joint account "in which each was to share according to the size of his purchase." On this lot there were to be constructed likewise at the general expense "a house for the doctor; a school; and the necessary shanties with partitions according to the number of families, in order that immediately upon arrival shelter would be available."

At the time of Dr. De Witt's visit, in July 1846, it had been Scholte's intention to come to the United States early

in the fall, so as to have ample time to prepare for the arrival of his followers in the spring of the next year. But family circumstances prevented him from sailing that autumn. Fortunately, "a few of the brethren were planning to leave shortly by boat on their own account, among them two able farmers," and so it was decided to make use of their services "to investigate the land."

On Friday, October 2, Scholte's vanguard sailed from Rotterdam for New Orleans, where they arrived at seven o'clock in the morning on November 19, just a day or two after Van Raalte had landed at New York. In spite of initial contrary winds in the English Channel, which caused the captain to change his course and take the route around Scotland, the voyage was made within the ordinary time. At New Orleans the Hollanders boarded one of the 1900 steamers that plied the Mississippi in those days. Theirs happened to be a rather slow craft, but it took them safely to St. Louis in nine days, at the rate of two and a half dollars per person. The emigrants felt that the Lord had assisted them remarkably, for only by chance had they failed to take passage on a much more modern and swifter vessel, which was wrecked by the explosion of a boiler, with the loss of forty-five lives.

As winter threatened, the journey from St. Louis to Iowa or Wisconsin had to be postponed until the next year. From this city one of the group, Hendrik Barendregt, wrote an extensive and interesting report to Scholte, who had it printed in the last issue of the *Reformatie*.

Meanwhile the organization of the Utrecht Association had proceeded apace. On Christmas day a board of control was elected with powers "to arrange for the journey and the purchase and division of the necessary land." Scholte, by unanimous vote, was made president of the Association. The date of departure was set for late in March or early in April. Concerning the route, Barendregt had warned Scholte that "if one sails from Holland later than February, it is too hot by way of New Orleans." Consequently the Association headed for Baltimore. Scholte himself traveled with his wife and children from

Rotterdam by way of London to Liverpool; from here the steamboat *Sarah Sand* carried him in thirteen days to Boston, where he arrived early in May 1847. The Association meanwhile hired four threemasters, the *Nagasaki*, the *Pieter Floris*, the *Catherine Jackson*, and the *Maastroom*, in which from 800 to 900 persons successfully crossed the Atlantic under the supervision of the board of control. With the exception of the *Pieter Floris*, which sailed from Amsterdam,

Valuable Emigrants.—We have visited the fine ship *Catharine Jackson*, Capt. Stafford, and have seen the passengers which he brought to this country from Rotterdam. We have seen many emigrant ships, but we never saw one more cleanly in its appearance than this, and we have never yet seen in any ship so fine a body of emigrants. They numbered one hundred and eighty, all Hollanders, and they have been remarked as beyond comparison superior to any ship load which has reached our port.—They are in fine health, well clad, and have an abundance of money to locate themselves. On enquiry yesterday, we learned, that this body is but the vanguard of a colony of several thousand, who are coming here, and design establishing a colony in Missouri or Wisconsin—those now here are all on their way to St. Louis, which is to be their headquarters for the present. In a conversation with one of them, he stated that they had left their country in order to enjoy freedom of opinion in religious faith. They were opposed to the established religion of the Kingdom of Hanover, and suffered persecution on account of it. Their leader had been imprisoned and fined, to use his expression, "often," and "therefore we left our own country." They come here to find religious liberty, and if the "vanguard" is a specimen of the whole, any country might be proud of such citizens.

An American Estimate of Scholte's Emigrants, from the Sun, Baltimore, Thursday Morning, May 27, 1847 XXI (No. 7) p. 2, col. 3.

the ships left Rotterdam early in April, arriving at Baltimore during the latter part of May and the beginning of June. Two aged persons and eighteen children died during the voyage. The relative wealth and tidy appearance of the Hollanders did not fail to attract the attention of Americans. A reporter for the *Baltimore Sun*, who visited the *Catherine Jackson*, declared that he "had never yet seen in any ship so fine a body of emigrants."

But Baltimore, with the hogs running through its muddy streets, did not particularly impress the Hollanders. Here they were met by Scholte, who on hearing of the arrival of this first ship on May 22, hastened down from New York in order to protect his people against the "runners." From Baltimore the emigrants traveled in contingents, just as they arrived, first by rail to Columbia, Pennsylvania, and from there in canal boats pulled by three horses or mules to Hollidaysburg at the foot of the Allegheny mountains. Here they had the rather uncommon experience of being "portaged" up the mountain slope in cars drawn up a succession of inclined planes by stationary engines. Near the top they passed through a tunnel. At Johnstown, on the other side of the mountains, the passengers had to change again to canal boats, which took them to Pittsburgh. From here on they continued their journey by steamer on the Ohio and Mississippi to St. Louis. The entire trip took about three weeks, and proved more strenuous than the emigrants had anticipated. Nevertheless, the American scenery did not fail to make a deep impression upon the more sensitive among them.

Beautiful views we have seen on our journey overland, I can not describe to you how it is with high mountains and rocks through which the railroad and the canal have been made. Steep heights which we descended sometimes touching either side, which made our flesh creep, and we also went by rail or boat under mountains, and that for quite a distance, so that it was completely dark and the water dripped on our heads.

Thus Pieter Welle, one of the passengers from the *Catharine Jackson*, wrote from St. Louis on August 9, 1847: Pending the choice of a definite location, most of the emigrants looked around here for a job,—a search, says Scholte, "wherein some who like to work were very successful, while others who had formed of America a picture such as children have of Cocagne were less fortunate in finding what they did not seriously seek."

[Van der Zee's translation.] In the meantime a committee of investigation, consisting of Scholte, I. Overkamp, J. Rietveld, T. Koppel, and

G. van der Pol, went in search of a site for the settlement. Immediately after his arrival at Boston, Scholte had been busy gathering information on this subject, visiting Washington as well as New York and Albany for this purpose. Everywhere he had been received in a most kindly fashion, thanks partly to some letters of introduction from the American Minister to the Netherlands. These preliminary investigations had confirmed Scholte in his opinion that the settlement ought to be made in one of the western states. Michigan, however, he ruled out at an early date. Later, in his *Voice from Pella* (1848), he summarized his objections to that state:

1st, that region is situated too far north; 2nd, the complete absence of suitable roads by which to get there; 3rd, the lack of sufficient prairie adapted to agriculture, because nearly all the land is covered with a heavy growth of timber; 4th, the proximity of the Indians and the distance from other places inhabited and settled by whites. . . . To the farmer who had already spent a part of his life in the level pastures and arable lands of Holland, the unaccustomed battle with trees and the constant view of stumps in the midst of meadows and cultivated fields could not be agreeable. Not to detract from Michigan's fertility, nor from the value of many kinds of wood, nor from the pleasure of hearing the warble of birds in the cool shade of virgin forests—I had, however, experienced enough of real life to know that stumps of trees are disagreeable obstacles to farmers, and that the value of wood decreases very much when everything is wood. . . . I knew that the Dutch farmers, of whom our Association chiefly consisted, were anxious first of all to be able early to possess pastures and milk-cows, to drive plow and harrow through the land, and that they were not at all inclined to prefer the ax to the spade or to become dealers in wood.

Rather than join Van Raalte, therefore, the committee decided to investigate Iowa, for which state many of the members of the Association had expressed a preference while still in Holland.

The committee first proceeded to Fairfield, residence of the receiver of public lands, to whom Scholte had a letter of introduction. Here, at a funeral, Scholte made the acquaintance of a Baptist minister, the Rev. Moses J. Post, who as a missionary preacher among the pioneer population of Iowa, was well familiar with the as yet uncharted regions

northwest of Fairfield. Post felt sure that the Hollanders would find what they wanted if the few settlers between the Des Moines and Skunk Rivers would be willing to sell out. Perceiving "the good hand of God," Scholte quickly persuaded the missionary to act as a guide for the committee. The latter consented, and by Thursday noon, July 29, the little party arrived at the designated place in Marion County, seventy miles from Fairfield.

Immediately Scholte proceeded to buy out the claims of the settlers.

We began straightway with the man at whose house we had dinner at noon, and with him agreed upon the price of his farm, reserving the right to give him a definite answer not later than one o'clock Saturday, because we wanted to be assured of the other farms first. He gave us a short list of the various 'settlers,' and by starting out right away on our circuit, before darkness set in we had everybody's word to sell at a stipulated price. Some whom we did not quite trust were bound by cash payments in the presence of witnesses. Our work, however, was now but half done, for we had to have access to the Des Moines River also. Early Friday morning we rode thither; there too the settlers were not yet informed, and after coming to terms with each one separately, by evening we had bound all of them in the same manner till Monday. Saturday we appeared at the appointed time and place, when written contracts to be executed within one month's time were signed both by them as sellers and by me as purchaser. To accomplish this, however, I had to purchase also the growing crops, the stock belonging to the various farms, and other goods and chattels. I had no authority to do this, and the money invested was not nearly sufficient for the purpose; but mindful of the Lord's guidance, perceiving the excellent situation and exceptional fertility of the soil and the facility of cultivation, I did not hesitate to complete the deal on my own responsibility.

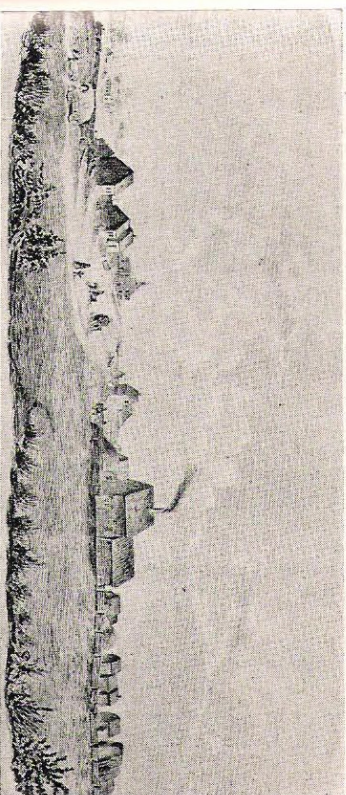
On Monday Scholte also signed the contracts with the settlers near the river; and on Tuesday the committee started on its way back to St. Louis, where the news of the purchase was received with great rejoicing.

About the middle of August the greater part of the emigrants left St. Louis by steamer for Keokuk, which they reached after two days. Here those who could afford it bought horses and wagons in which to complete the last lap of the journey; others who were less fortunate traveled on foot. One of the early settlers of Mahaska County, who

wrote down her recollections around the turn of the century, still remembered the excitement caused by the news

... that a large colony of Hollanders were coming through here and were going to settle and build a town on the divide about eighteen miles northwest of Oskaloosa. . . . Not many of us had ever seen a Hollander, and when they came along the road in various kinds of wagons drawn by various kinds of teams, we gazed in wonder at their quaint and unfamiliar appearance. Their dress was strange to us. Women were perched upon high piles of queer looking chests and boxes and trunks, many of them wearing caps, but no bonnets. Some of the men and women, too, wore wooden shoes, which was entirely new to us.

Exactly when the first settlers reached their destination is not known, but it must have been between the nineteenth



*View of Pella in 1848, from The Hollanders in Iowa:
Britten van een Gelderschman*

and twenty-second of August. A great disappointment awaited the emigrants upon their arrival, when instead of the fifty-odd log huts which Scholte had commissioned a few Americans to construct in his absence, they found only a number of sawn boards, which had likewise been ordered. Some families were able to move into the houses vacated by the settlers whom Scholte had bought out, but others had to take shelter in dugouts similar to the ones built by the first Dutch settlers on Manhattan.

Thus on one of the highest points between the Des Moines and Skunk Rivers were laid the foundations of the second successful Dutch colony in the United States.

The name *Pella* given by Scholte to his settlement, though geographically incorrect—for it indicates a basin, says Dr. Van Hinte—yet was justified for psychological reasons: in Pella of old the disciples of Jesus took refuge just before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

Professor Newhall, who visited the settlement on September 17, 1847, described the sudden transformation of Iowa's lonely prairie into a scene of bustling human activity, in an interesting article for the *Burlington Hawk Eye*.

The men in blanket coats and jeans were gone! And a broad shouldered race in velvet jackets and wooden shoes were there. And this is "Pella" of nearly 1000 souls and rejoicing in the antiquity of nearly a month. Most of the inhabitants live in camps, the tops covered with tent cloth, some with grass and bushes. The sides barricaded with countless numbers of trunk boxes and chests of the oddest and most grotesque description that Yankees or Hawk-Eyes ever beheld.

In his letter to Scholte, Hendrik Barendregt had warned his countrymen not to imagine that they could remain Hollanders if they came to America to live, but that manner and custom of the land should be followed. This advice the Dutch settlers took well to heart. On the day when Professor Newhall arrived in Pella, most of the men were just going through "the ceremony of declaring their intentions of becoming citizens of the United States."

It was altogether an impressive scene, to behold some 200 men with brawny arms upraised to heaven . . . [eschewing] all allegiance to foreign powers, Potentates etc. And as they all responded, in their native tongue, to the last words of the oath: "So help me God!" no one could resist the heartfelt response: "So help them God to keep their solemn vow!"

Like Michigan, Iowa too has since become a center for Dutch emigration to America. Pella's founders were joined by their relatives and friends from St. Louis partly in the same year and partly in the spring of 1848; afterwards also by many who came directly from the homeland.

Still others preferred Wisconsin, making their homes at Milwaukee or in Sheboygan and Fond du Lac counties, where the ministers Zonne and Baay succeeded in establishing small Dutch settlements at Cedar Grove and Alto in

1847 and 1848. Illinois also attracted a number of the faithful, especially from the provinces of South and North Holland, who settled in the vicinity of Chicago. None of these colonies, however, was as important for the Dutch emigration as those in Michigan and Iowa.

Like the Seceders, and for similar reasons, the Roman Catholics also preferred group settlement to individual migration. In both cases the causes of the emigration were practically the same. Freedom of religious education was as real an issue with the Catholics as it was with the Seceders though material considerations perhaps influenced the former somewhat more than the latter. For neither had the Roman Catholics suffered actual persecution, nor could they count on the liberal welcome that American Protestantism accorded oppressed fellow-believers.

Curiously enough, the Roman Catholic Church as such did not encourage emigration. Following the example of Protestant ministers like Van Raalte and Scholte, certain priests indeed assumed leadership, guiding their flocks to America and founding settlements; but they acted entirely on their own responsibility.

As early as July 11, 1846, the *Catholijke Nederlandsche Stemmen* noted that many Roman Catholics were beginning to think of emigrating, especially those "with large families who, though they are not altogether without means, yet have no prospect . . . of finding a decent and honorable livelihood for their sons." By October plans for a joint emigration to Missouri were taking definite shape. At Nijmegen a number of "substantial Catholic families" organized a committee to prepare everything toward their departure in February 1847. They also inserted a notice in the *Catholijke Nederlandsche Stemmen* of Nov. 7, inviting all those who were likewise planning to leave and who had sufficient means, to join them "in order that by intelligent collaboration an entire region could be purchased for the establishment of a Dutch Catholic colony." In January 1847 the members of the Association were requested to give their names and the number of persons they intended to take with them, and to deposit into the hands of the com-

mittee ten guilders toward the shipping space reserved. It was proposed to go from Nijmegen to Rotterdam as soon as the river was free of ice, in order there to take passage in the *Leodes*, which was bound for New Orleans.

The recently founded Roman Catholic daily *De Tijd* contained a detailed account of the departure of this first group of Catholic emigrants from Nijmegen on February 21, 1847.

Just now we have witnessed here for the first time a scene of large-scale emigration. After Mr. C. Verwayen with his 120 Catholic fellow-travelers early in the morning had attended the Holy Mass, and the majority had fortified themselves with the Holy Communion for the last time on their native soil, he mounted the steamer while thousands of spectators, who at an early hour jammed the quay and the adjoining streets, cheered and waved. It is unbelievable, how this scene stirred the crowd, all around one could hear conversations in which people approved of the plan, complained bitterly of the decline of the national welfare, and expressed the desire to flee the sinking fatherland. Many a blessing resounded: many silent prayers for a prosperous crossing were sent up to heaven, and will be sent up every Saturday, when a special service invoking the Holy Virgin will be held for that purpose. One of these days, the agents who are in charge of giving information concerning the new state *Disbadera*, which the lawyer C. Verwayen and his group are going to found, will spread their advertisements. Within a month a second expedition is to sail from Antwerp . . . and, as seems likely at present from the number of those who have reported, will be much larger than this one, which together with those from Tiel, Gorcum, Rotterdam, etc. numbers close to 200 persons.

After their departure, however, we hear no more of these colonists, and apparently nothing came of their ambitious scheme.

More successful than Verwayen in his attempt to establish a Dutch Roman Catholic colony in America was Father Theodore J. van den Broek, O. P., who since 1834 had worked as a missionary among the Indians in the Green Bay region of Wisconsin. In 1847 Van den Broek visited his native city, Amsterdam, in order to collect some money which his mother had left him. During this stay in Holland he also hoped to induce some of his countrymen to follow him to America. He therefore published a brief account of

his sojourn on the Fox River, in which the natural advantages of this region were portrayed in glowing colors. In addition, he addressed an open letter to his "Fellow countrymen in Jesus Christ," urging them to support his mission and to join him in person at Little Chute.

Van den Broek's visit received wide publicity in the Catholic press. *De Tijd* on Tuesday, August 10, 1847, immediately informed its readers of the opportunity which his presence offered to obtain first hand information about "the particularly healthy region of Wisconsin [*sic*], near the city Greenbay and situated on a navigable river." The article continued:

In the region where he [Van den Broek] lives, last year a saw mill and grist mill have been constructed; before long a monastery and a seminary will be established there; the land may be had from the American government at 3 guilders per acre; 400 families could easily be accommodated and find support there, and if all of these were Catholics, then the foundation would be laid for an excellent Roman Catholic colony.

So many responded to Van den Broek's call that three ships were needed for their conveyance. On March 19, 1848, the first of these (the *Maria Magdalena*) sailed from Rotterdam for New York. Among the passengers was Father Van den Broek. From New York the group followed the ordinary route by way of Albany and Buffalo to Little Chute in Wisconsin, where they arrived on June 10, after a journey of eighty-three days. In the meantime the two other ships had also left the Netherlands, the *America* bound for Philadelphia, and the *Libra* with Boston as its destination. Aboard the latter vessel were eighty persons from the vicinity of Uden in Noord Brabant; a Franciscan, Father Gothard, was their leader. Toward the end of May this group arrived in Little Chute and early in June founded a settlement fifteen miles east of Van den Broek's colony. The new village was called Franciscus Bosch, in honor of the patron saint, but after two years the name was changed to Hollandown.

Sometime before 1855 a small church was built in Hollandown; but as it had neither steeple nor bell, the time

for religious services was announced by the blowing of a horn. In church men and women were seated separately. The women used to wear Holland-fashioned dresses and some had gold earrings. Nearly all came to church in their wooden shoes. Every Sunday a sermon was read by an old man named Van der Hey, but once a month a priest would come on foot from Little Chute, and then the whole community rushed out to make confession.

In the early days of the settlement people had to walk twenty-four miles to Green Bay to obtain provisions; later a store was opened at Hollandtown by Bertus van den Berg. The post office was at Dundas, a mile away. Little Chute at this time is described as "a rural hamlet with from twelve to fifteen houses, a store belonging to John Versteegen, and a long, low, frame church on the bluff facing the Fox River."

Life in these Roman Catholic colonies differed considerably from that in the stern Calvinist communities of Michigan and Iowa, where dancing, cards, and the theater were anathema, and the sale of liquor was forbidden. As the Rev. Chrysostom Adrian Verwyst remembered it, at Hollandtown there was carnival-dancing and also an annual shooting-festival, when the members of the local guild gathered quite as in the old country, in order to shoot down a wooden "bird" attached to a high pole. On Sunday afternoons people would come together at the house of some neighbor "where the men played cards and took an occasional drink from a jug of liquor; the women, meantime, sipped their tea or coffee and chatted over household affairs and current news; while the boys found amusement in innocent games."

Thus into the Catholic colonies of Wisconsin was transplanted the more easygoing, genial spirit of the people living south of the big rivers in the home country.

The importance of the three midwestern Dutch colonies for the emigration from the Netherlands is clearly revealed in the census returns for 1860, which show that almost half of the 28,281 Holland-born residents of the United States were then living in Michigan, Wisconsin, or Iowa. In only

four other states did the number of Hollanders exceed a thousand, and with one exception these were situated along the Great Lakes route to the West. Of these seven states Michigan led with 6,335 inhabitants of Dutch birth; New York followed with 5,354; Wisconsin with 4,906; Iowa with 2,615; Ohio with 1,756; Illinois with 1,416; and New Jersey with 1,328.

When one reviews the whole of Dutch emigration during this period of 1624-1860—from the West India Company to the young colonies in Wisconsin—two things become clear. The first is that nothing is so powerful as religious conviction to make a group cohere and to ensure its lasting influence. Probably the greatest contribution of the early Dutch settlements along the eastern coast was the American branch of the Dutch Reformed Church; and the longevity of the Dutch tradition in the Middle West is due in large measure to the strong bonds of religious fellowship.

The other outstanding observation is that in spite of their small numbers there was a character so resilient and yet independent in the Dutch settlers that although they adapted themselves well to a new world, they were never altogether submerged in it. As visitors from Europe still discover, even today there is something of the old Hollander in the modern American of Dutch descent.

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The following is not by any means a full bibliography of the subject, but rather a check list of references; as such it takes the place of footnotes, which for the sake of readability had to be omitted. Consequently the items listed are only those on which the narrative is based, or from which quotations or illustrations have been taken. Exact page references and further information are frequently supplied in parentheses at the end of a bibliographical notation.

The author is well aware that there are serious omissions from this list, such as the life of Ds. Brummelkamp by his son and Wormser's biographies of Scholte and Van Raalte. Neither has the important centennial literature on the church secession of 1834 been investigated. The importance of these books, which might have been consulted in Holland, was realized only after the author had returned to this country; then they were no longer available.

The author has likewise had access to only a few of the important contemporaneous pamphlets dealing with the emigration of 1847. These little tracts have become exceedingly rare; their publication in a facsimile edition by Professor H. S. Lucas of the University of Washington is therefore awaited with eagerness.

A further difficulty was that many things which are ordinarily to be found in the Library of Congress have been sent away for the duration.

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RICE, *Harmenius Bleeker*, pp. 224-225 (a letter from Brodhead to Bleeker, Amsterdam, August 30, 1841, where the date is erroneously given as 1818).*

SLUTTER, "Dutch Archives" (in *The Pacific Historical Review*, March 1937, pp. 31-32).

VAN LAER, *Huntington Documents*, Introduction, pp. ix-x.*

Brodhead is mistaken in speaking of a sale "at public auction." According to the terms of the order the documents were sold privately, "*bij onderhandsche inschrijving*." This explains the absence of any record of such a sale in the *Staatscourant*. The author is indebted to Mr. Van Laer for a copy of the above-mentioned order of Nov. 27.

CHAPTERS I AND II

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